

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. II.—No. XXIV.—NEW SERIES.

DECEMBER 1, 1847.

PRICE 5d.

## AFRICAN EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH EMANCI- PATED COLONIES.

In the month of April last, we called attention to the fact, that Her Majesty's Government had broken through a rule which they had laid down for their guidance, relative to the supply of immigrant labourers from the Western Coast of Africa to the British Colonies. We then pointed out the fact, that Her Majesty's ship *Growler*, had been ordered to be fitted out and despatched to the Kroo Coast for a supply of such labourers; and called attention to the danger likely to result from the attempt, and the pernicious example which it gave to foreign slave-holding nations to do likewise. The *Growler* was despatched on this service, but, on reaching Sierra Leone, it was found that a considerable body of liberated Africans were in the Government yard, and a portion of them, amounting to 476, were induced to ship themselves for Demerara, where they arrived in the month of August last. Subsequently this vessel was again despatched to Sierra Leone, where it was anticipated she would obtain a second cargo of liberated Africans, which were to be transported to Trinidad. Failing, however, at Sierra Leone, her destination, it was understood, was to be the Kroo Coast.

It was distinctly understood, that until the experiment had been made in a Government vessel, under Government orders, whether a body of free emigrants could, or could not be obtained from the Kroo Coast, that no other mode of obtaining them thence would be permitted. Pressed, however, by the West India Committee, the Noble Lord, now at the head of the Colonial office, has consented, not only that a Queen's ship should be engaged in this service, but that any number of merchant vessels might be employed that should be found either advisable or necessary. In consequence of this extraordinary resolution, we understand that several vessels of large burthen have been taken up, and will be forthwith despatched to the Kroo Coast for immigrants.

We view this new phase in the immigration proceedings of the Government with the greatest alarm, for if we have read the evidence touching the Kroomen, contained in official reports aright, we are satisfied that they are not in a position to enter spontaneously, and of their own free choice, into any engagements to labour in the West India colonies, or elsewhere. Though not slaves in the absolute sense of the term, they are unquestionably in such a state of servile dependence on their chiefs or headmen, as to render it necessary that all arrangements should be made with them for the services of the people, and that in one form or another they must be purchased, or advances made to them, equivalent to purchase.

It was not to be supposed that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society could be silent in relation to this new form of the slave-trade, they have therefore memorialized the First Lord of the Treasury upon it, setting forth the grounds of their objection, to which the attention of our readers is earnestly directed. We are not certain that the course proposed to be adopted is not a violation of the law passed in the year 1843, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, which forbids any British subject from either directly or indirectly purchasing human beings for any purpose whatsoever; but whether this be so or not, we are confident that the employment of merchant vessels, engaged in this service, are liable to capture and condemnation under the equipment article in our treaties with foreign powers for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The following is Lord Grey's despatch to the Governor of Jamaica on the subject of extended African Emigration:—

TO GOVERNOR SIR C. GREY, &c.

Downing-street, Oct. 30th.

Sir,—I transmit to you herewith a copy of a memorial from proprietors, merchants, and others, connected with the island of Jamaica, in which they represent the difficulties under which they labour, and apply for assistance to be enabled to surmount them.

The topics brought before Her Majesty's Government in this memorial are, as you will perceive, the same which have been for some time past under their constant consideration; but the progress of events gives them every day an increasing interest and importance.

Long before the enactment of the act for the ultimate repeal of the discriminating duty on foreign sugar, it had become manifest that in the existing state of opinion in this country, founded as it was on reason and on facts, if the cultivation of sugar by free labour could not be sustained on principles of free trade, it could not be sustained at all. So long as these principles were not brought into operation it was obvious that the basis on which this commerce and cultivation rested was hollow and unsound, and that all calculations connected with it must proceed upon very doubtful and precarious data. It was essential, therefore, to the welfare of all parties, to commence without delay, the experiment of bringing the principles of free trade by progressive steps into full activity, and maintaining the cultivation of sugar with a reduction and early extinction of the discriminating duties. This experiment being indispensably necessary was to be undertaken in a spirit of hope and confidence, and in that spirit I trust it will still be carried on. But, at the same time, there is no application of the principles of free trade, which was entitled to more anxious attention on the part of Her Majesty's Government, with a view to promote its success; because in all merely commercial measures it is that which involves the most momentous consequences, moral and political, as well as commercial. With the maintenance of the colonial agriculture and exports, is bound up the moral and industrial well-being, the education, enlightenment, and good government of the negro race in the British colonies; and, along with that, the abatement and ultimate extermination of the slave trade and of slavery throughout the world.

It was with a full sense of the importance of the interests depending, and of the critical nature of the experiment, that I applied myself to the subject when I assumed the seals of this office; and then, as now, the want of an adequate supply of labour was the difficulty most dwelt upon by the planters and merchants; and this was the evil which it was obviously most essential to obviate.

For the early, though not, certainly, the immediate mitigation of this evil, I looked to the education and industrial training of the negroes, and I have pressed this subject repeatedly and most anxiously on the attention of the assemblies. For a more direct alleviation I place great reliance upon the introduction of improved methods and implements of agriculture and processes of manufacture; and I have rejoiced to receive, from time to time, reports of improvements of this nature being in successful progress. But the supply of labour by immigration was the resource for which it was conceived that the assistance of Her Majesty's Government might be chiefly made available; and I lost no time in considering by what means this assistance might best be given. The expense of the transport of Coolies from British India was such as to excite doubts on the part of the Jamaica Assembly as to the expediency of carrying that immigration forward, and I saw much reason to apprehend that these doubts were well founded, and that this immigration could not be conducted on any terms which would render it adequately remunerative. It remained to establish, if possible, an extended emigration from the parts of Africa where slavery does not prevail, and whence an intelligent and serviceable class of emigrants might be procured. After every practicable inquiry had been made in this country as to the prospect of succeeding in such an attempt, Her Majesty's steam-ship *Growler* was despatched to the Kroo coast for emigrants, and, although she has been for the moment diverted from the prosecution of that particular service, by the occurrence of an opportunity of conveying a large number of liberated Africans to the West Indies, the intelligence which has been received by no means abates the hopes which have been entertained, and she has gone back to



Africa with the additional advantage of conveying thither, as delegates from British Guiana and Trinidad, between 100 and 200 Kroomen and other Africans. These persons have been exceedingly prosperous in British Guiana, and they return to their country, according to a despatch from Governor Light, of which a copy is annexed, with large sums of money, the earnings of their labour in the West Indies; 29 of them having deposited in the hands of the captain of the *Growler* no less a sum than £571 15s. 10d. I am not, therefore, without hope that the succeeding operations of the *Growler* may realize the prospect of emigrants being obtained from the Kroo coast in large numbers, and Her Majesty's Government are prepared to take prompt measures for conveying them to the West Indies with the least outlay which may be found to be compatible with the proper conduct of the service. It is indispensable that that outlay should be defrayed by the colonies to which the emigrants are taken; nor is it possible for me, especially in the present state of the resources of this country, and having regard also to the extraordinary demands made upon them from the various exigencies of the times, to hold out any expectation that Her Majesty's Government can recommend to Parliament that either a grant of money or a loan should be made by this country to the West Indian colonies for the advancement of these objects; but any number of merchant vessels will be employed which it is found possible to employ with advantage, and the expenses of which the colonies may be prepared to provide for. The manner of conducting the service must afford an absolute and indisputable security against any immigrants being taken without their free consent, obtained by fair and well-founded statements. Her Majesty's Government cannot for a moment admit the validity of the arguments in favour of Africans being rescued from slavery by purchase, in order that they may be removed to a state of freedom. Such a proceeding would be sure to make more slaves than it redeemed, and to make them in the worst way, by furnishing, like the slave trade itself, a provocative to the system of barbarous outrage and warfare by which that traffic is fed. It is indispensable, in order to guard against abuses of this nature, that the service should be conducted under the regulations of the Government, and on those parts only of the African coast where slavery and the slave trade are found not to prevail. At present, however, there is nothing to show that the employment of ships of war will be necessary, or that any cost of superintendence need be incurred beyond that of a Government agency on board the vessels and on the coast. Such a superintendence is, in fact, as necessary to the success of the undertaking as it is essential to the character of this country; for any occurrence of abuses would inevitably put an end to the operations.

With regard to the means by which the colonies might be enabled to meet the cost;—when I first came to the consideration of this subject, the wisdom of the Assembly of Jamaica had already furnished, in the clause of their Immigration Act, imposing stamp duties on engagements for immigrant labour, an example of legislation which I did not fail to adopt and recommend to other colonies. I added, as you are aware, and I still recommend to the attention of the Legislature of Jamaica, a suggestion for the imposition of a monthly tax on immigrants introduced at the public expense, and not under a stamped engagement to labour. This may not be required in the case of Coolie immigrants, whose habits and comparative isolation in the community throw them upon engagements with the planters as a necessary resource. But I should fear that without it the African immigrants introduced at the expense of the colony, in order that they may hire themselves to work, will not always be found to fulfil that expectation and repay the cost of their passage.

Such are the measures which I have hitherto adopted and recommended to meet the deficiency in the supply of labour, and the steps which were necessary to give effect to these measures, so far as they depend upon Her Majesty's Government, have been taken, I trust, with the least possible delay, and with all the care requisite to give them a fair prospect of success: and there is no other proper and practicable measure calculated to advance these objects in which we should not most gladly co-operate with the Legislature of Jamaica to the utmost extent of the means at our disposal.

If the measures now in contemplation, or any others which may be devised, for the introduction of immigrants, should have an extensive success; and if neither that success, nor the anticipation of it, be allowed to interfere with the diligent pursuit of every possible improvement in agricultural and manufacturing processes, and still less with the education and industrial training of the negroes, I trust there is good reason to hope, not only that the present difficulties of the West Indian interest may prove to be temporary, but that when they shall have passed away, any measure of prosperity which may be attained will be steady and assured in its progress, and not subject to that constant recurrence of revulsions and vicissitudes which was the characteristic of West Indian agriculture and commerce in former times.

The statements made to me by the gentlemen who waited upon me with the present memorial were strongly corroborative of this hope. They assured me that they had no reason to complain of want of industry on the part of the labouring population. The evil was not that they were wanting in industry, but that they were too few in numbers for the many employments of industry to which a state of freedom had given birth,

independently of those in which the fixed capital of the sugar-planter is invested: and that such is the real state of the case is shown by the large increase of imports which has accompanied the decline of exports since the period of emancipation. Nor did these gentlemen complain of the rate of wages as exorbitant. On the contrary, they stated that they would be content to pay the present wages, if a sufficiency of labourers at those wages could be obtained with certainty and regularity. Under these circumstances, it is evident that no injury can arise to the native labourers of Jamaica by the introduction of foreign labourers; on the contrary, it is most important to the natives that this foreign aid should be given, deeply interested as they are in the general prosperity of the island and the support of the educated classes, and those of European extraction, on whom, for a long time to come, the civil institutions and the administration of the laws must mainly rest. And it is worthy of remark, that, in some colonies at least, the negroes themselves have evinced no repugnance whatever to the introduction of immigrant labourers, such as might be expected in countries where there is a competition for employment; but that in many places the strangers have been very hospitably received by the negroes, and treated with a marked cordiality.

If this reception and the advantages they meet with shall induce the immigrants to settle finally in the West Indies, there can be no doubt that their gain will be great in doing so. But if they shall prefer to return to Africa with the property they may have accumulated, there will be a fairer prospect than has ever yet been opened of at length introducing into that country the arts and habits of civilized life; whilst the success of free labour in the West Indies will co-operate with these civilizing influences in extinguishing the slave trade, and it will no longer be the interest of nations claiming to be civilized to promote the worst barbarities on those on whom the advantages of Christianity have not yet been conferred.

I stated to the deputation which waited upon me some of the views which I have here developed, and, at their instance, I have thus communicated them to you; and as it appeared to them that some advantage might be derived from making them known to the Assembly of Jamaica, I have to request that you will submit to that body a copy of this dispatch.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed) GREY.

#### MEMORIAL AGAINST AFRICAN EMIGRATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, HER MAJESTY'S FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—The question of an extensive scheme of African immigration into the British colonies having obtained an unusual degree of importance, by the publication of a despatch of the Right Hon. the Earl Grey on that subject, recently addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, trust your lordship will permit them to lay before you the grounds on which they feel it to be their duty to give the proposition of the noble lord their decided opposition.

Your lordship will probably remember, that, when the Marquess of Normanby held the seals of the Colonial Office in 1839, it was the united conviction of the Government, that African emigration to the West Indies, should not be permitted for reasons which were then deemed of the highest social and political importance. Scarcely, however, had that noble lord quitted that department of Government, when it was determined that emigrants, from the British settlements on the Western coast of Africa, might be taken thence to the three colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad. Arrangements were afterwards made that such captured slaves as might be liberated by the sentences of the Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, Rio de Janeiro and the Havana, or which might be condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Courts at St. Helena and elsewhere, might also be taken to the same colonies. Under these arrangements, during the six years, ending with 1846, Jamaica imported 3,041 Africans; British Guiana, 6,186; Trinidad, 3,181; Total, 12,408. Besides these Africans, the three colonies imported during the same period, from various quarters, 35,711 emigrants:—viz. Jamaica, 2,942; British Guiana, 21,183; Trinidad, 11,586. Total 35,711. Anterior to this period, viz. from 1834 to 1840, the same colonies imported 12,037 emigrants, making in all—a grand total of 60,156 emigrants in 12 years. The Coolies, Africans, and Madeirans, introduced into Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad during the present year, amount to a very large number; and more would undoubtedly have been imported if tonnage could have been obtained in time to have transported all that were ordered from India by the Government, for the use of the planters.

These figures, coupled with the fact that the great bulk of the emigrants have been imported, not at the cost of those intended to be benefitted by their services, but at the general expense of the



colonies, must prove at all events, that Her Majesty's Government have not been indifferent to the alleged wants of the planters, but that if anything, they have far exceeded the demands of justice and sound policy.

It has now become evident, that Coolie emigration to the West Indies is too costly to be continued, and therefore it is determined, if possible, greatly to increase the importation of Africans. For this purpose Her Majesty's ship *Growler* has been set apart; and emigration is no longer to be confined to the British settlements on the Western coast of Africa: the Kroo coast is to be opened for that purpose. Nor is this experiment to be restricted, in the first instance, as was originally proposed by Lord Grey, to the *Growler*; for His Lordship informs the West India body, that any number of merchant vessels will be employed, which it is found possible to employ with advantage, and the expenses of which the colonies may be prepared to provide for. Such are the principal features of the new scheme, against which the Committee feel insuperable objections for:—

First, it extends African emigration beyond the limits of British jurisdiction. The Committee conceive there is great danger in this. In their judgment, no regulations, however stringent, no instructions, however precise, can prevent it from degenerating into a semi-slave traffic. On this ground they object to it. The noble lord, the secretary for the colonies, says indeed, that "The manner of conducting the service must afford an absolute and indisputable security against any immigrants being taken without their free consent, obtained by fair and well-founded statements." To effect this, his lordship proposes, that the agents to be employed shall be under the control of Government. According to the instructions of the emigration commissioners, there is to be an agent general and such subordinate agents as may be necessary to collect the emigrants. These agents are to be paid partly by a fixed salary, and partly by head-money. The subordinate agents are to reside within the limits of the Kroo country, and to be visited occasionally by the superior agent, who, at the same time, holds the situation of Collector of Customs at Sierra Leone.

The Committee cannot see how such an arrangement as this can afford absolute and indisputable security against wrong doing. On the contrary they cannot but apprehend that the plan of stimulating the exertions of the agents by head-money, will severely tax their virtue, and throw suspicion on all their proceedings. It is not to be expected, that under any circumstances, a very superior class of men would accept the office of sub-agents, and be content to reside among a people so barbarous and Pagan as the Kroos, shut out from all civilized and Christian society. Adventurers and unprincipled men, however, may be found to undertake the office, and by management secure the proffered head-money, without appearing to violate the letter of their instructions. Such, at least, is the conviction of the Committee.

Secondly, The Committee object to emigration from the Kroo country because there exists no satisfactory evidence that the people are really free. It is assumed by Lord Grey, that on that part of the African coast, neither slavery nor the slave trade prevails, and that from thence "an intelligent and serviceable class of emigrants might be procured." The Committee doubt the soundness of this assumption. It is quite clear to them, from the evidence laid before the West African Committee, in 1842, that the Kroomen employed in any service, whether of navigation or otherwise, must be hired from their headmen or chiefs; that without their consent they cannot leave the country, and that when they give that consent, they must. These headmen are usually conciliated by presents, and sometimes by having a portion of the wages of their people paid by the contractor to themselves in advance, and, invariably on their return home from service, they claim in addition a considerable portion of their gains. When headmen accompany the Kroos, which is sometimes the case, the authority which they exercise over them is great, degenerating into absolute cruelty if permitted. My lord, an emigration carried on from such a country as this, where the people cannot exercise a personal and independent choice, where the will of their chiefs is their will, and where compulsion would be resorted to, without hesitation were it allowed, can scarcely be called a free country, or the people who dwell therein a free people. If the rule laid down by the noble lord be strictly enforced, that emigrants shall not be taken "without their free consent," the Committee are persuaded that there can be no emigration from the Kroo coast.

Thirdly, The Committee object to this scheme of emigration to the British colonies, because, like all others which have preceded

it, it does not provide for the importation of an equal number of the sexes. The serious mischief and shocking immorality which have already attended the influx of masses of men into the British colonies, are frightful to contemplate. The introduction of ship loads of Kroomen will greatly aggravate the evil. It is a well-ascertained fact, that the Kroomen never take their wives or families with them; in fact they are not permitted to do so, they are retained as a kind of hostages to ensure the return of their husbands. The Committee regard the disparity of the sexes among the emigrants as a point of vital importance, and would earnestly press it on your lordship's attention as an evil, which, admitting of no cure in the case of the Kroomen, should be regarded as fatal to the scheme of emigration which permits it. On economical as well as on moral grounds it is open to the most serious objections; but the Committee dwell not on that point. They base their objection on the unnatural state of society which it engenders, and the crimes to which it gives birth.

Fourthly, The Committee object to the emigration of Kroomen to the West Indies on the ground of their utter Paganism, and the opposition they manifest to the Christian faith. Of the thousands who have, during a long course of years, resided at Sierra Leone, it is reported, that not more than one instance of conversion to Christianity was ever known, and as the result of missionary effort, in their own country, not one. To pour multitudes of these brutish people into the very heart of the labouring population of the emancipated colonies, is to inflict upon them not only a deep injury, but, in the judgment of the Committee, a great wrong. It should be remembered, that the emancipated classes, especially those situated in the rural districts, have not long merged from the debasing influences of slavery, that they are yet comparatively uneducated, and are, consequently, much more likely to receive injury from contact with these Pagan polygamists, than to benefit them. The expectation of Lord Grey that the Kroomen will be the means of introducing into Africa "the arts and habits of civilized life," as the result of their emigration to the West Indies, the Committee regard as purely chimerical. Engaged, as they necessarily will be, in the cultivation of the estates, with the rest only of the Christian sabbath, from week to week, it is infinitely more probable that they will devote it to sensualism and Pagan practices than to purposes of a civilizing and moralizing character. On religious grounds, therefore, and especially on behalf of the rising generation of negroes, the Committee enter their solemn protest against the introduction of these Kroomen into the emancipated colonies.

Fifthly, The Committee object to this extended emigration from Africa, because the planters, mortgagees, and merchants, for whose especial benefit it is designed, will be relieved from the expenses attending it, whilst the colonists generally, and the emancipated classes in particular, will have to pay the heavy expenses of the operation. It appears to the Committee, that to appropriate the colonial revenues, or any part of them, to this service, is unjust. In the language of the Marquess of Normanby, which the Committee again quote, they would say, "If the capitalists are anxious to enlarge their agricultural and manufacturing operations, it seems reasonable that the expense should be borne by themselves, and that the funds, to which every member of society is a contributor, should not, for this purpose, be diverted from their more legitimate destination." This sound principle it is conceived ought never to have been departed from; yet, in order to meet the demands of the West Indian body, an intolerable amount of taxation has already been laid on the people, who, in the colonies of British Guiana and Trinidad, have no power of helping themselves, and in the disposal of their money have neither voice nor representative. An evil such as this, the Committee trust the justice of the crown will soon remove.

Sixthly, The Committee object to this scheme of African emigration, because the laws which are intended to regulate the labour of the immigrants are of an exceptionable, oppressive, and coercive character. Though it is determined, that the emigrants shall be brought to the Colonies at the general expense, practically none but the planters are to enjoy the use of their labour. The emigrants will not be at liberty to choose for themselves either their own employments or employers, unless they consent to a poll-tax of five shillings per month, payable in advance from the time of their arrival, until they have performed what is termed "five years industrial residence," or, in other words, worked exclusively for a planter for that period of time. They will not be permitted to return to Africa, on any pretence whatsoever, even at their own expense, before the full period of five years "industrial residence" has been accom-



plished, unless they obtain passports, for which they must pay at and after the rate of £1 sterling per annum, for the unexpired period of the five years, whatever that may be. Those who labour for planters are to be brought under stamped indentures, from year to year, during the whole term of their industrial residence. If they leave their employ, they immediately fall under the operation of the poll-tax, and are held liable to pay in addition, certain proportions of the duty levied on the indentures. Moreover they are to be subjected to certain fines for absent days, all of which, together with the poll-tax, are to be enforced by imprisonment with hard labour, at and after the rate of one day for every sixpence that may be due. This ingenious net work of fines, poll-tax, passports, stamped indentures, and imprisonment with hard labour, is specially designed to subserve the interests of the planters, and will, undoubtedly, be so worked as to bear most injuriously on the liberty and happiness of the immigrants. It is not to be supposed that an ignorant Krooman, in his own country, supposing he were master of his own actions, and willing to emigrate, can understand the effect of such laws. Yet they will meet him on the moment of his arrival in the colonies, and will practically reduce him almost to the condition of a praedial slave.

Seventhly, The Committee object to African emigration, more particularly when carried on from other parts of Africa than the British settlements, on the ground that it not only affords a pretext to foreign nations to recruit the labouring population of their slave colonies and territories in a similar manner, but may justly lead the people of those countries to question the sincerity of our efforts to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade.

On this point the Committee feel they cannot do better than quote once more the language of the Marquess of Normanby, when, in the name of H. M. Government in 1839, he declared, "We are decidedly hostile to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West Indies from Africa. No precautions, which have been or could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade of that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery." And so determinedly were the Government of that period set against African emigration, that they would not even allow of the transfer of the Africans, liberated by the Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone to the West Indies. His Lordship, therefore, said, "I cannot but view with serious apprehension the plan of settling an immigration Agent from Guiana, at the Havana, in the Brazils, and in Sierra Leone, where the three Courts of Mixed Commission are held. It is of the utmost importance to avoid even the appearance and imputation of this country being actuated by any selfish motives in our transactions with the Brazilian, Portuguese, and Spanish Governments on the subject of these Courts; nor could Her Majesty be advised to place the Africans liberated under them at the disposal of any such Agent."

If, for the reasons set forth in their memorial to Your Lordship, of the 6th of February, 1841, the Committee acquiesced in the removal of the liberated Africans from the Spanish Colonies and Brazil, to the British Colonies, in order to rescue them from a state of slavery, they feel that the motive against African emigration generally is not less powerful now than it was then; they still remain firm in the conviction, that other nations may copy the example set them by Great Britain, and thus create a new form of the slave-trade, and recruit their respective slave populations, without violating the letter of their treaties with this country.

Amidst the pain which the Committee have felt in reviewing the new scheme of African emigration, they have felt consoled by the declaration, that Her Majesty's Government cannot, for a moment, admit the validity of the arguments in favour of Africans being rescued from slavery by purchase, in order that they may be removed to a state of freedom, "for that such a proceeding would be sure to make more slaves than it redeemed, and to make them in the worst way, by furnishing like the slave-trade itself a provocative to the system of barbarous outrage and warfare by which that traffic is fed."

Yet, my Lord, it is by that very mode, the purchase of Africans on the coast, that the West India body, at least those of them who, at present, bear rule in the colonies, and occupy influential positions at home, wish to recruit their estates with labourers. They ask for "unrestricted access to Africa;" and that the labourers procured from thence should be supplied to them "at the public expense." Such being the case, the Committee cannot but feel alarmed at

every new concession made in relation to African emigration. Besides it appears to the Committee but reasonable, that, before additional labourers from any quarter, much less from Africa, be allowed to the colonies, the most rigid enquiry should be instituted into the condition and circumstances of the emigrants, which have already been imported into them. Such an inquiry, honestly conducted, they feel persuaded would bring to light a series of facts, which would more than justify the various representations made to Government against past schemes of immigration, which have not only entailed enormous additional taxation on the colonies, but have been fraught with an amount of misery and crime, disease and death, which would otherwise appear incredible.

In bringing this statement of their objections to African emigration to a close, the Committee can forbear the remark, that the proximate cause of the present distress of the West India body, on which they ground a claim for additional labourers at the public expense, is the recent alteration in the sugar duties, which allowed of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British markets. The depression of price which has followed that act, has inflicted great losses on the planters, and led to much embarrassment. To any and every just measure of relief, to which they are entitled, the Committee would offer no objection. They conceive that every remaining restriction on West India commerce should be removed; but they are of opinion that it is not by costly schemes of immigration, which simply provide for the flux and reflux of transitory labourers, that the true prosperity of the Colonies will be secured,—that they believe must be looked for in the natural increase of the Creole population, and their fair and honourable treatment; in just and enlightened legislation, and the impartial administration of justice; and in the introduction of improved modes of agriculture, and a more economical management of the estates under the direction of a resident proprietary.

I have the honor to be,

MY LORD,

(On behalf of the Committee,)

Yours, &c. &c.

Signed

JOHN SCOBLE,

Secretary.

Anti-slavery Office,  
27, New Broad Street,  
29th November, 1847.

[REPLY.]

Downing Street, 3rd Dec. 1847.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult., on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

J. SCOBLE, Esq.

(Signed)

R. W. GREY.

#### THE KROOMEN—THE EXTENT OF THEIR COUNTRY.— HABITS—CHARACTER—MODE OF LIVING, &c.

For the information of our friends, who may not have access to public official documents, we give the following extracts from the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee, on the West Coast of Africa, in 1842; and from the reports of the last India Agents who have visited the Coast of Africa for the express purpose of obtaining immigrants.

##### EXTENT OF THE KROO COUNTRY.

Captain H. Baily, in his evidence given before the select Committee, in reply to the question (1922), Do you know for what extent of country the Kroomen are to be found? says, A vast extent of country. (1923) For what extent of the coast do you find them? Sixty miles. (1924) Does the coast appear to be thickly peopled? Yes, very thickly. Captain T. Midgley, in reply to the question (4229), Do you know how far the Kroo land extends into the interior? says, Only a very short distance; it is a very narrow belt of land along the coast. (4230) Have you any idea of the extent of the population? says, I cannot precisely say the number; but, at the distance of every eight or ten miles, there is a very populous place. Some of these places will probably contain as many as 7,000 or 8,000 inhabitants; others, probably 6,000 or 7,000. Captain the Hon. Joseph Denman, R.N. (6962): Can you give the Committee any information with regard to the Kroo Coast, as to its extent? The Kroo Coast, I conceive, begins at the River Cestros, and the Grand Cestros, the place known as St. George's. The Kroomen occupy only five towns upon the coast, at different places between the River Cestros and the Grand Cestros; to the northward of that, the



Bassa people lie intermixed with the Fishmen, and, occupying all the coast to the southward of the Grand Cestros, are the Fishmen, a different people from the Kroomen; they are often confounded with them, but there is a broad distinction between them. Intermixed with the five Kroo towns are many fish places. The Kroomen occupy the interior of the country more than the Fishmen: the Fishmen are entirely upon the coast. Below Grand Cestros they are all fish towns. The fish people are much more numerous than the Kroomen. At a place called by the fishermen Saucy Town, the natives from the interior fought their way down to the beach. Captain *H. Dring*. (2153) From what part of the coast do you think that emigration would be most likely to be successful? I should think from the River Sesters, down as far as Frisco. (2154) Is that chiefly occupied by Kroomen? There are Kroomen on a great part of the coast; but the regular Kroomen do not extend above twelve or fourteen miles down the coast, although they have got the same mark as the Kroomen.

## CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE KROOMEN.

Captain *H. Dring*. (2156) What is there in the habits of those people that makes you think that they would be likely to be induced to emigrate? They are so fond of wandering about: but they would never emigrate to the West Indies unless they were promised to be brought back again. *H. W. Macaulay, Esq.* (5564) Do you concur in opinion with Colonel Doherty as to the character of the Kroomen? he speaks of the Kroomen as never to be trusted, never converted to Christianity, and likely, wherever they may be, to exhibit a bad example in that particular; do you concur in that? I agree in opinion with Colonel Doherty, that they would not be converted to Christianity. I do not think them dishonest when they are well treated. I never heard of an instance of any liberated African being converted to the Pagan opinions of the Kroomen; I believe such a thing was never heard of. (5565) You believe that they are more difficult of conversion than other Africans? It is quite impossible, if I may say so of anybody; there never was an instance known of a Krooman being converted. (5566) To what do you attribute that peculiarity? To their constant return to their own country. They never think of settling anywhere but in their own country. There is no instance of a Krooman settling anywhere but in the Kroo country. *W. Hamilton, Esq.* (4637) Have the Kroomen who have gone changed their religion? I scarcely think they have any religion; I do not think I ever saw a Krooman inside a church at Sierra Leone. *Rev. J. E. Schen.* (7362) Have they any children with them? They are not generally married; there are illegitimate children of Kroomen in Sierra Leone. Captain *H. Broadhead, R.N.* (2710) From your experience of the character of the Kroomen, do you conceive that they would form a useful element for labour in the West Indies? I do not think that they are very fond of agriculture; I should say they are more a nation of fishermen. *L. Hook, Esq.* (8456) Would not the best men be those most likely to emigrate, and the idle and useless and burdensome men be left in the colony? The Kroomen, taken as a body, are a useful body; they like labour, but a peculiar description of labour; they do not like agricultural labour, but heavy manual labour, such as cutting timber, and rafting it, and things of that sort they are very competent to do, and very skilful in doing it. (8467) If they do not like cultivation, of what use would they be in the West Indies? If they emigrate there, they must work or starve, and therefore they must go on the farms. I do not see why they should not become agricultural labourers. *Coona*. (a Krooman). (10,758) Do you ever make slaves in your country when they make war? Suppose you catch prisoners, what do you do with them? We kill them. If they do not kill them, they keep them for work, they do not sell them. (10,762) Do you kill a greater number than you keep for work? When we catch men, we give them sometimes to a man, and he keeps an eye upon them to prevent their running away. (10,765) Suppose a Spaniard came there, and wanted to buy the men that you had caught as prisoners in war, would you sell them? No, we would sooner kill them than sell them as slaves, for if a man-of-war knows of it they make plenty of palaver. (10,767) Suppose you catch women and children, what do you do with them? If they take any women in the war they are killed; they also kill the children; they cut the women and children into two pieces. (10,795) Are not the wives of the Kroomen servants who labour for them in the field as well as in the house? They apportion the work among their wives. (10,796) What is the ordinary price which a Krooman pays for his wife upon his return from a voyage? You must give a bullock for a woman. (10,797) Suppose you have not got a bullock yourself, what must you give for a bullock? A gun will buy a bullock; or a quarter of a barrel of powder will buy a bullock. (10,798) And a bullock will buy a wife? Yes. *Hon. J. Denman, R.N.* (6974) Have you had any opportunity of knowing the domestic condition of the Kroomen or the Fishmen; whether they are under the obligations of slavery to any parties? No, there is no slavery in the Kroo or Fish country, although the system of every headman having his boys under him approaches something to it. The headman receives all the wages of all the boys under him; whether that is from family connexion, or from political institution, I do not

know; but the headman receives all the pay of all the boys. A headman on board a man-of-war, for instance, will have twenty men under him, and he receives the whole of their wages. (7003) Have they any means of education? None, whatever. (7006) Do they show any disposition to learn to write? None at all.

## PROBABLE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS.

*F. Swanzy, Esq.* (514) From your acquaintance with the Coast, do you think that there would be a considerable number of emigrants who might be induced to go off to the West India Islands? I think not. (515) Do you think, along the whole of the coast you are acquainted with, there is no part from which a considerable emigration might be expected to take place? I think not; the most likely people would be the Kroomen. Captain *Midgley*. (4221) You have had communications with the natives upon the subject of emigrating, did they make any stipulation as to returning after a certain time? They said they would not like to stop in a strange country long, that they would like to go and look at the country, but they would not like to remain longer than going in a palm-oil vessel and returning; that is to say, they would not object to stopping six or eight months. *Logan Hook, Esq.* (8452) Do you think that the Kroomen could be persuaded to go in large numbers to the West Indies? The Kroomen as a body are not a large nation. If the whole nation were to emigrate to the West Indies, it would be but a drop in the ocean.

## MODE OF OBTAINING THE KROOMEN.

*H. Broadhead, R.N.*, in reply to the question (2691) How do you procure Kroomen from the coast? says, We procure them at Sierra Leone; we get a headman first, and he brings his party with him; the merchant ships pick them up at Cape Palmas, to run down the coast upon their way out. We generally engage a headman, and tell him to get us eighteen or twenty clean, active, intelligent men, that have been in a man-of-war before. (2692) The headman comes with them? Yes. (2693) Does he generally retain any kind of authority over them during their service? He generally retains too much; he is very cruel in his use of them, if allowed. Captain *T. Midgley* (4187) Would you think that the chiefs would be likely to oppose their going to the West Indies? They do not make any objection. (4188) Should you be obliged to make any payment to them? I should have had to pay a month's wages in advance, and to the chiefs, whom I selected as headmen over them, I should have had to give two months' wages in advance. (4189) Would the advance have been an advance to the chiefs or the men? It would have been an advance to the men, but it would have been paid to the chiefs. *Tom Coffee* (a Krooman). (2785) Are you obliged to ask your (chief) to let you go; do you give your father money to let you go? Yes. (2786) Suppose a ship came, and you said, "I will go;" and your father says, "I will not let you go till you give me money;" are you obliged to give him money first? I cannot go without father. (2787) Suppose you go on board a ship, and you get money and things, and you go on shore, are you obliged to give all to your father? Yes. (2788) Supposing you want to stop on shore, does your father take it all from you? Yes. (2789) Does he give you none at all? No; he keeps it for me. (10726) Do you think that many of your people would be willing to go to the West Indies and cultivate sugar? My countrymen would go. (10727) How many do you think would go? If you go and talk to the king, and the king agrees to it, 200 men would be disposed to go. (10728) Would you have to give the king some present to let the people go? If the king has a small dash or present of some rum and tobacco, and some other things, the king will then consent to let the people go. (10729) Would the king make them go, or would they only go if they liked to go themselves? If the boy did not like to go, he would tell the king that he was not a good man to go; but the king would tell him him he was a good man, and that he had better go, for he would be brought back again. (1742) If they did not like to go would the king make them go? He would make them like to go.

## FAMILIES NOT PERMITTED TO GO WITH THEM.

Captain *T. Midgley*. (4183) Would they go alone, or take their families with them? They could not have taken their families; I made a particular inquiry upon that point. *H. W. Macaulay, Esq.* (5573). Is there any mode of accounting for those remarkable peculiarities in the Kroomen? No; I think they are kept distinct by the habit of the country, never allowing the women to leave the country, and thus inducing the men constantly to return. *Tom Coffee*. (2782) Do they take their wives with them? No. (6998) Captain *Hon. J. Denman, R.N.* Do you think the Kroomen would be willing to leave their families? I think they would; you could not get them to take their families. (10739) *Matubba* (a Krooman). Would you like to take your wife with you? I could not take her, my father and mother would not allow her to go. (10742) Supposing you could persuade your father and mother to go with you, would the king object to your father and mother and wife all going along with you, after the first time? I think the king would not let them go. (10740) Would your countrymen like to take their wives with



them? The wives would not like to go upon the water; they could not possibly be taken.

#### WEAR NO CLOTHES.

Captain *H. Dring*. (2177) Do they find their own clothes? They wear no clothes.

#### MODE OF HIRING AND PAYMENT.

Capt. *A. T. E. Vidal*, R.N. (338) Are the ships which take them on board, whether merchant ships or ships in Her Majesty's navy, obliged to pay any consideration or present to any chief or master for their services, or do they seem to act completely as individual free agents? Those shipped on their own coast have, I believe, a practice among them of paying a portion of their wages to the head or leading man of the gang with whom they ship; they are a sort of apprentices. I believe that when they first embark, the new hands give a very large proportion of their wages to the headman who takes them, Captain *H. Seward*. (2236) Do you think you would be obliged, in making an engagement with them, to make any payment to the head man or chief? In all probability you would, in order to get a number to go a distance from their own country. (2237) You would be obliged to make some present to the king? I should say so, to get a number. (2238) When you engage seamen on the coast, are you obliged to make presents? Sometimes the king comes off, and sometimes he does not; if he comes off you are obliged to make presents. (2239) Do the Kroomen generally take back money when they go home? Sometimes money, sometimes cloth, but they tell you that they have to give a particular portion of it to the king.

#### DANGER OF RENEWING THE SLAVE TRADE.

Com. *H. Broadhead*, R.N. (2733) Do you believe it would be safe to allow vessels to go on the Kroo coast, and, take up a cargo of willing colonists, to go to the West Indies? *Decidedly not, unless she was under the command of a naval officer, or some person holding some commission, or some authority from the Crown.* Capt. Hon. *J. Denman*, R.N. (6984) Would embarkation be safe on other parts of the coast? It would be impossible in other parts, without perpetuating the slave-trade, in my opinion. (6985) What would be the difference between the two cases. There are no other races upon the coast who leave their country voluntarily to labour. The only way in which it could possibly be expected that the natives would be obtained from any other part of the coast would be upon compulsion and upon sale, upon positive sale and nominal manumission afterwards before embarkation; but that would hold out the same inducements to internal slave-trade in Africa as the slave-trade to Brazil or Cuba. Col. *Henry Dundas Campbell*. (9327) Do you think it possible to carry on free emigration from Africa to the West Indies without endangering a renewal of the slave-trade or kidnapping of the people in the interior? I think, with regard to emigration to the West Indies from the interior, it is out of the question, unless you purchase them. My reason for forming that opinion is from my own acquaintance with them.

*Extracts from the Journal of T. C. Bagot, made on a voyage to the West Coast of Africa, &c., on Emigration Purposes, Jan. 8, 1846.*

It may be necessary to inform our readers that Mr. Bagot's intercourse was confined to the chiefs.

Several Kroomen have come off to us to day. As I found in Sierra Leone, so likewise among this people, is the cry of the uncertainty in getting back after the expiration of their term of service; otherwise there appears among them a very strong desire to emigrate to the West Indies, in preference to going to Sierra Leone. At SETHA KROO, I found an American missionary, and found they had been toiling and labouring for four years endeavouring in vain to convert these heathens to Christianity. *The law of the Kroo's impose death on any one who departs from the superstitions of his people, and would certainly be the penalty to any of them doing so while in their own country.* 10th of January. I landed this morning and spoke on the subject of emigration; and, knowing that they had expressed a wish to Mr. Butts of emigrating, I told them I had now come down in a fine vessel to see if this was true. Their expressions of strong desire were repeated; but they complained that several of their people who had accompanied Mr. Butts to Sierra Leone, with the purpose of going to the West Indies, had been left at Sierra Leone, and they accused that gentleman of deceiving them. All my endeavours to convince them that those people had left him when they had got to Sierra Leone, and that he could not prevent this, hardly seemed to remove the impression. *They considered that as in their own country the same parental control can be exercised over them, against their own consent, by the person to whom they are as it were entrusted, and that Mr. Butts ought to have seized them and carried them with him.* Of Jamaica they spoke in bad terms, saying, No go to Jamaica; Kroomen never come back. I have received on board, as passenger emigrants, sixty of these people from the several towns of SETHA KROO, MANNA KROO, LITTLE NIFOU, GREAT NIFOU, and GRAND SESTERS.—Par. p. No. 691—part 2, pp. 84-5.

*Extracts from Mr. Butts's Report to Governor Light, dated August 7, 1844.*

"I have visited Kroo Town, SIERRE LEONE, it is divided into six departments, each having its own chief, flag, &c., and populated, as regards

males, only from their own native town. The chief of SETHA KROO, Sam Headman, is acknowledged here by the Colonial Government.

Duke William.....	Chief of Nana Kroo
Tom Sudy .....	King Willing Town
Sam Headman .....	SETHA KROO
Jack Tatta .....	Grand Sesters
Tom Wilson .....	Cape Palmas
Ben Glando.....	Little Kroo

I have made inquiry from themselves and various others, as regards their women never being permitted to leave Kroo Country, and I have met with no other reply than that they never do quit.

With these chiefs I have had several meetings; and Saturday last was appointed for a grand conjoint palaver, at which the most interesting point for me at the moment to get distinctly understood and settled, was the filling up of any number of emigrants I might be deficient, by their boys. I now understood from them that their boys shall this time fill the "Arabian" up. There are many difficulties to be overcome, and much suspicion and distrust to be removed, which must be replaced with confidence. With all uneducated people this requires time; but with savages, years and years must elapse ere their confidence be really gained. I have endeavoured to ascertain what great causes were in existence leading them to emigrate, or whether there was any powerful means of stimulating them, that, in the absence of any natural or existing cause, could be brought to bear, so as to induce a constant stream of emigration. In vain have I sought for anything in the shape of such a cause affecting these people. *The mandate of a chief would stop emigration at once from any part or portion of this tribe.* This, I fear, is not a state in which you can repose confidence for a continuation of emigration. The original settlers here, and their immediate descendants, are not accustomed to labour, having hitherto procured apprentices, who, by that name, worked and were treated as slaves, without the protection or remuneration, small as was that remuneration, by slaves enjoyed. I cannot help expressing my fear, that, if reliance be placed on receiving an immediate and large influx of emigrants from Africa, disappointment and loss will ensue.—*Appendix to Land and Emigration Commissioners' Report, No. 18, p. 40.*

*Extract of a Report from Mr. Guppy, to the Governor of Trinidad, Dated 18th October, 1844.*

The Kroomen are a race, completely apart from all other African natives. To what points the authority of the headmen extends, it is very difficult to ascertain, as they are very jealous of giving information. They are Pagans, and make the propitiation of the devil the most important point of their religion; but what other tenets they hold has not been ascertained; not a single instance of conversion has occurred at Sierra Leone, and it is said that a Krooman could not be allowed to return to his country if he were converted. They never take any of their women out of the Kroo country. The Fishmen and Bassamen have no headman in Sierra Leone, nor do they seem so fond of emigrating as the Kroos. The demands made by the head Kroomen, at Sierra Leone, as a condition to his cordially forwarding emigration, are, that a piece of land, in or near Port of Spain, should be allotted to the Kroomen, as a residence for their headmen, and that a free passage should be given at any time to all Kroomen wishing to return to Sierra Leone. Some other demands were made, but eventually they were reduced to these two.—*Id. No. 14, p. 43.*

For further information respecting the brutal habits and pagan opinions of the Kroomen, we refer to the evidence of Dr. Madden, contained in the Appendix to the report on the West Coast of Africa, pp. 280, 281, who concludes his remarks upon the Kroomen in the following terms: "Such are the notions of religion of a people, the probability of whose association with the recently christianized negroes of our colonies could not be looked to without apprehension for its result."

#### RESOLUTIONS OF THE BIRMINGHAM ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AGAINST AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH COLONIES.

We are rejoiced to find that the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have been directing their attention to the subject of immigration. At a meeting of the Committee, held at the Public Office, on the 1st of December instant, R. S. Cadbury in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

That this Committee have heard with deep concern the proposal of the Colonial Secretary, to establish an extensive system of emigration from those parts of the African continent where slavery does not exist, to the British West Indian Colonies:—

Because they are convinced, that in the present condition of Africa, such a system would be founded on fallacious principles, inasmuch as with very rare exceptions, the people are the property and slaves of their chiefs, who will part with them only for a bonus, which, if paid, will doubtless be added to the expense of transit, which the emigrants and



labouring classes in the West Indies generally will have to refund by a tax levied upon the produce of their industry.

Because such a system, by whatever name it may be designated, or by whatever restrictions it may be guarded, must speedily sink to the level of the slave-trade, legalized and regulated, indeed, as it formerly was by the British Government, but in its nature essentially the same.

Because not only the state of the labourers in the West Indian colonies during slavery and the apprenticeship, but the dreadful mortality caused by neglect and oppression, which has resulted from all immigration, sanctioned and encouraged by the colonial legislatures, though under stringent regulations enacted by the Imperial Parliament, proves, that any interference on the part of the British Government for the protection of the prædial population in the West Indies, under any kind of bond-service is utterly unavailing, whilst the character and habits of the immigrants, they confidently believe, would prove most destructive to the religion and morality of the resident labourers.

Because they consider, that even, if immigration could be conducted without deception or oppression to the immigrants, it is unnecessary, inasmuch as where the negroes are treated fairly and as free men, labour is generally to be had both abundantly and cheap; and this Committee views any attempt to depreciate the value of that labour as not only unjust to the emancipated classes, but as an abortive attempt to arrest the inevitable ruin, which must result from the non-residence of the proprietors and the expensive management of their agents.

Because they believe, that by the adoption of the system now proposed, the British Government will not only lend its sanction to, but actually promote a traffic, which the united voice of the British Parliament and people has unanimously condemned as a disgrace to the civilized world, and which they have made such sacrifices to destroy.

For these reasons this Committee enter their solemn protest against the proposal of the Colonial Secretary; they have uniformly deprecated all attempts to suppress the slave-trade by the armed cruisers of this country, as being wrong in principle, causing fearful mortality amongst our seamen, an enormous and wasteful expenditure of the public money, and a terrible aggravation of the horrors of the trade itself; and they now feel, that all the arguments, which formerly stimulated their energies in seeking the destruction of that trade and of slavery, equally call upon them to protest against the system now proposed.

In addition to the movement in Birmingham, we may add that the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society have taken measures for informing not only their own representatives, but a considerable portion of the liberal members of the House of Commons, of their hostility to African immigration. In their zealous endeavours to diffuse correct information, they are seconded by the able editors and correspondents of the *Leeds Mercury*. We offer our unfeigned thanks to the conductors of that most important journal, for the ability with which they strip bare the demands of the West India body; and the weakness of the government in yielding to them.

#### FAILURE OF COOLIE EMIGRATION TO THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

There is no teacherlike experience. The Colonies are beginning to discover this, in the matter of immigration. Without foresight or consideration, they demanded the introduction of foreign labourers, partly for the purpose of lowering the rate of agricultural wages, and partly for the purpose of controlling the labour they might by this means obtain. We warned them of their folly. We pointed out to them, that, independently of the general objections that might be urged against their wild schemes, they would find the item of expense too costly, even for the general purse to bear. They accounted us their enemy because we opposed them; but we are glad to perceive, that they are coming round to our opinions; and, one by one, quietly abandoning their own. Could anything, for instance, be more monstrously absurd than to import a second-rate class of labourers from British India, at an expense of some £18 or £20 per head, whose labour should be available for a period of five years only to the colonies; and who, at the expiration of that term, should be re-conveyed to India at the general expense. To say nothing of the inefficiency of these labourers, the casualties arising from sickness, absence from work, and mortality, would add considerably to the expense of the scheme. Yet, although it was demonstrated that Coolie emigration to the West Indies would never pay, the Colonists were determined to have them; and the Government, which ought to have restrained, unfortunately gave them its aid, and several thousands of these poor creatures have been imported into Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad.

The first arrivals of these Asiatics was hailed with joy. No terms were too extravagant to express the sense which the Planters entertained of their docility, their industry, and their intelligence.

They not only did more work, but they did it better than the emancipated negroes. They were held up as examples. By-and-by, however, they ceased to be the subjects of praise, and then they were described as wandering vagabonds, filthy and indecent in their habits, and the police were invoked to remove them out of sight. At length they became the subjects of disease, and a frightful mortality ensued; and the upshot of all is, that the Colonies are tired of Coolie immigration.

In Jamaica, it should be observed, many of the more intelligent planters have fought shy of Coolie immigration; but their opposition was overborne by the West India Committee in this country, the agents of non-resident proprietors in the Colony, and by the Government.

In the recent speech of Sir Charles Grey, the Governor, to the Jamaica Legislature, he said,—“All persons here, I believe, are convinced that the importation of Coolies from the East Indies is too costly, and that the numbers of these people, whom you could afford to bring from the other side of the globe, must be too few to be efficient instruments in elevating Jamaica to a new prosperity.” The *Falmouth Post*, in commenting upon this part of the Governor's speech, observes:—“The extravagant waste of money, in the importation of worthless Coolies, is coldly alluded to, with all the frigidity of official formality. . . . We have, however, in this acknowledgment, the highest indorsement of the opinions we have so frequently expressed: experience has, at last, admitted that we have been ‘paying too dear for our whistle,’ and we trust that the time is near at hand, when the colony will be rid of a people, who were brought into it for the sole purpose of benefitting a few avaricious characters, who consulted their own private interests, and cared little or nothing for the injury they were inflicting on the tax-payers of the land.”

At the sitting of the Council of Government in Trinidad on the 1st October last, the following instructive proceedings occurred:—

“His excellency laid before the board a dispatch from Earl Grey, dated 21st August, conveying a report from the land and immigration board, with reference to a bounty of £1 per head on all Africans landed here from the *Growler* as a bonus to the officers and crew of that vessel.”

“The report had been referred to the West India Committee, who recommended the grant of the same.”

“Mr. Losh questioned if this bounty should extend to captured Africans.”

“His excellency—They had to bring one as well as the other, and he thought that there should be no distinction; the other day, when the *Growler* left Sierra Leone, there were 1800 in the liberated yard, but not one of them would leave. This immigration would prove expensive by the *Growler*. With regard to the Coolies, at the rate they were paying for them, they would never repay the expense of their introduction by any labour they might give.”

Mr. Burnley—With regard to the Coolies, he considered it a very unprofitable speculation. If they could get Africans at the rate of £6 per head, which they formerly did, that would pay; but if they were to pay £14 a head, which he heard would be the cost by the *Growler*, that was out of the question.

“His excellency—Under the present system, they cost the Colony £14 a head.”

But £14 per head does not represent the entire amount of expense connected with this African immigration. There must be added to it, the loss sustained by the death of immigrants after arrival, and the cost of the return voyage, when the period of service has been accomplished. We suspect that, when these items are taken into account, African as well as Coolie immigration will, to use Mr. Burnley's words, be “out of the question.”

On the 15th of October last, a meeting of the planters, merchants and others interested in the cultivation of sugar, was held at Georgetown, Demerara, the Hon. Peter Rose, in the chair. At this meeting, to use the words, of Mr. Austin, a planter, in commenting on its proceedings:—

“The failure of Coolie immigration, as a means of securing any ultimate and lasting benefit, was universally admitted, although umbrage was taken at the facts stated by me, and drawn from my own pay lists of the average earning of the coolie, being but \$3 per month at six bits to the task. At this rate, a Coolie would earn but \$180 in the five years to which his residence here is limited; but presuming the average to be greater than on our own estates, or \$4 per month, we have only \$240 for the five years, or a sum less than the cost of import and export, with charges of medical attendance. We find, therefore, that, whilst complaining of the exorbitant rate of wages at six bits per task, the planter is now paying the amount to the Coolie for actual work, and the colony a similar sum in expense, or a total for each task of one dollar.”

The Hon. John Croal, expressed himself on the same subject, in



the following terms:—"I am opposed to Coolie immigration, and therefore, I would not support the petition if I thought it favourable to that particular description of immigration; but I think by adopting this petition, we are abandoning Coolie immigration."

Thus has the bubble burst, as we predicted it would. But how scandalous to impoverish the Colonies, to supply the planters with foreign labourers; to oppress the people with taxes, that a few men such as Peter Rose, the great enemy of every liberal measure, may grow rich by his agencies. The *Guiana Times* very properly says:—

"We cannot avoid remarking, that it is bad policy to allow such an influential member of the Court of Policy, as Mr. Rose, to be the consignee of the Coolie carrying ships. His gains last year, from that source, are variously stated from £1,000 to £2,000, although it is well known, that at least one bill drawn in his favour, was returned dishonoured by the house of SOAMES, on the ground of the demand being an overcharge. No member of the Court of Policy should be interested in this kind of way in carrying on an immigration ruinous to the community, and particularly not the agent of the mortgagees of estates, the nominal property of other members, and the manager of the Colonial Bank to boot."

The colony of Guiana has been brought to such a pass by excessive taxation, that Mr. Austin, before referred to, says, that if the opportunity had been afforded to him at the late meeting,

"I would have proposed a resolution detailing the entire failure of the Coolie immigration, and the necessity of assistance from the mother country to enable us to keep faith in the redemption of the loan."

"I would have applied for a loan to construct railways, to enable such estates as felt the manufacturing of produce too costly, to carry the canes to properties, where the machinery was perfect, or to central factories, where the most scientific principles would be in operation."

"I would have claimed from the British Parliament, the free and uncontrolled distribution of our public revenues, and such a constitution as would have enabled us to secure, through our representatives, the passing of laws applicable to our real condition."

In the latter point we most cordially agree with Mr. Austin. It is intolerable that the welfare of a whole community should be in the hands of a few individuals, whose claims to be regarded as legislators do not arise from their superior wisdom and virtue, nor from the choice of the people, but from adventitious circumstances, or rather from circumstances, which their position in society, no matter by what means attained, has enabled them to create or to perpetuate. As an instance of the reckless manner in which the public funds are dealt with, by the Hon. Peter Rose, and his colleagues, or rather his dependents, assisted by a few officials, we may mention that, among other exceptionable votes, these worthies appropriated 10,000 dollars for the erection of an Ice-house in Georgetown! whilst to grind down the poor man, who cultivates his own patch of land, they have put a heavy tax on his cart or his canoe, and, contrary to the laws of England, have imposed on him the necessity of taking out an expensive license, for the sale of his ground provisions.

The planters and merchants of Guiana, have sent home a long petition to be presented to the House of Commons. Let those in the colony who feel oppressed, send home a petition also, setting forth their grievances and praying for relief. We advise them to do this, and to be prompt in doing it.

#### THE BONDAGE ORDINANCE OF MAURITIUS.

It will be remembered that, some time since, we called attention to the "Heads of an ordinance for promoting immigration into the emancipated colonies, and the industry of immigrants," which Lord Grey had transmitted by a circular despatch to the governors of these colonies, with a request that they should be embodied in laws for the future government of immigrants, both African and Asiatic. We gave our opinion, at length, on the character of this measure, and ventured to denounce it as one of the worst pieces of legislation that had ever been recommended to the colonies since the period of emancipation. We have now before us a copy of the ordinance passed by the Governor in Council at Mauritius, for giving effect to Lord Grey's instructions; and we hesitate not to say that every constitutional means should be taken to secure its repeal. A brief analysis of this bad law will, we think, fully justify the terms we have used in characterizing it.

1. It is enacted, that the term "new immigrant" is to apply to all Indians who have been imported into Mauritius since the 15th of January, 1842, on whom the Government bounty has been paid. The act is, therefore, to be *retrospective*, and will

bring under its operation the survivors of some 70,000 Coolies, who were imported before its enactment.

2. No "new male immigrant" arriving after the 1st of May, 1847, shall have a right to a return passage to India, unless he accomplish "five years' industrial residence" in Mauritius, that is, unless he serve a "sugar planter," under a "stamped agreement," for that period. In reference to those who arrived previously to the 1st of May, 1847, it is required that, if they be not already in the employ of a sugar planter, they must enter his service for the remaining period of the five years, under a stamped agreement. In every case the agreements must be renewed year by year, and bear a tax, which is thus regulated. For each engagement of an immigrant above fourteen years—first year, £1; second year, 10s.; third year, 8s.; fourth year, 6s.; and fifth year, 4s. For each immigrant from ten to fourteen years old, one half of the foregoing sums.

3. No male immigrant, aged fourteen years and upwards, arriving at Mauritius after the publication of the ordinance, may engage himself otherwise than with a sugar planter for one year.

4. In reference to immigrants in the colony, at the time of the publication of the ordinance, it is enacted, that if they do not forthwith enter the service of a sugar planter, under a stamped engagement, they are to be subjected to a monthly poll-tax, payable in advance, of 4s., if he be fourteen years old and upwards; if under fourteen and above ten years old, 2s.; and every new immigrant, whose engagement terminates on any other than the first day of the month, shall pay 2d. per day for every day of the month he remains without engagement with a sugar planter; and should he not re-engage with a sugar planter, then he must pay the monthly poll-tax in advance.

4. Every male immigrant who terminates his engagement with a sugar planter by regular notice, or leaves his employment for a longer period than fourteen days, shall reimburse the planter the amount of the stamp corresponding with the period he had to serve, or the time of his absence. In the case of absence, the immigrant may be proceeded against as a "deserter."

To give effect to these enactments the most stringent regulations are to be enforced against all persons who shelter, lodge, or hire immigrants, or who do not make exact returns according to the requirements of the ordinance. In order the more effectually to secure obedience, domiciliary visits may be made at any time, so that, under pretence of searching for immigrants, no place will be secure from the intrusion of Government agents.

5. Every "new immigrant" must possess a ticket by which he can be identified, which he is bound to exhibit to any magistrate, or other public officer, requiring it, or on the demand of all other parties interested, together with the last monthly receipt for the poll-tax, if he be not in the employ of a sugar planter; and in default of so doing he may be detained until he produce satisfactory proof that he has paid the tax, and be sent to the quarter where he is registered, to be dealt with according to the ordinance.

6. Every new immigrant found in a district where he has no residence, or in a house or dwelling, without the consent of the proprietor, may, if he does not produce his monthly receipt, be arrested without order or warrant, provided he be taken before a magistrate, who will treat him in conformity with the ordinance.

7. All sums due from immigrants for the monthly tax, may be recovered summarily, and all fines on account of absence may be retained by the employers, or in default of payment the immigrant shall be imprisoned, with hard labour, for a time equal to a day's imprisonment for each sixpence due by him.

8. In case of absence from service, the immigrant not only to forfeit his rations and wages, but to be compelled to pay his employer a sum for each day's absence, equal to the wages he would have been entitled to receive. The absent days also to be made good in completion of the five years' industrial residence.

9. All immigrants who have performed their five years' industrial residence with a sugar planter, or who have paid the monthly poll-tax for that period, to be entitled to a passport, which will guarantee them a free passage to India; but no immigrant will be allowed to leave the colony in the intermediate time, without obtaining a passport, for which he must pay £6 if he has been one year in the colony, £4 10s. if he has been two years, £3 if he has been three years, and £1 10s. if he has been four years.

A variety of vexatious rules are established in reference to registration, certificates, tickets, and monthly receipts, which will reduce the immigrants to a complete state of vassalage. They



cannot move in any direction without liability to be apprehended, they cannot lodge a single night in any house but they must be reported. If found out of the district without their tickets or receipts, they may be arrested, and the moment their engagements with a sugar planter ceases, they are brought under the operation of the poll-tax. They cannot leave the colony, for any reason, however urgent, even at their own expense, without paying heavily for a passport. Such are some of the features of the new law for coercing the labour of the immigrants, and this law it is intended shall meet the Africans in Trinidad and Guiana, as it has already met the Coolies in Mauritius, unless its manifestly unjust, and oppressive character shall lead to its repeal.

### THE SLAVE TRADE.

ADDRESS OF THE EXETER ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We, the undersigned members of the Exeter Anti-slavery Committee; being strongly impressed with the conviction that the time has arrived, when a general expression of opinion is called for in reference to the present state of the slave-trade, and the admitted failure of the existing methods adopted for its suppression, beg respectfully to lay before you our views on this important subject. We are induced to do so in the earnest hope, that you, as being the body so especially entrusted with the duty of contending against this giant evil, will make early arrangements for *promoting public meetings throughout the whole country*, in order that the opinion of this great nation may be brought to bear on its legislature and rulers.

From an attentive consideration of the facts connected with the slave-trade now carried on, (and which facts can be proved by the official documents recently published), we feel that the present system of attempted suppression, by the appointment of an armed naval force on the coast of Africa, is not only useless, but, as we firmly believe, *worse than useless*. To maintain this assertion we do not rely merely on the admitted fact, that, whilst the number of slaves exported from Africa, is just about the same as hitherto, their incredible sufferings are increased, owing to the use of vessels built with reference mainly to swift sailing capacity.

We refer rather to a point which we are compelled to think is not sufficiently considered by the philanthropist and the friends of the captured and tortured African. It is this; that whilst the existing ineffectual and delusive system is continued, and the public understand that a large naval force of both British and French ships is employed to suppress the iniquitous slave-trade, a feeling pervades the country generally that *real and powerful*, if not absolutely sufficient, agencies are at work to uproot and destroy the horrid traffic.

The consequence of this feeling is a *quieting of the conscience of the nation*, whilst permitting any continuance whatever of this greatest outrage on humanity, and also a *withdrawal of general attention from the subject*. We are aware that your Committee have shewn themselves fully alive to the fact of the failure of the existing modes, and not long since memorialized the Government on the subject, which memorial was published in your valuable journal, the *Anti-slavery Reporter*; but although the leaders of the anti-slavery movement have been of late quite cognizant of the real state of affairs, we are confident that *the great mass of the people are not so*.

Such a state of things is, we venture to assert, a *fatal one*, as respects the speedy removal of this evil. Thousands and tens of thousands of benevolent men throughout the length and breadth of this land, who would otherwise with alacrity exert themselves in raising the irresistible strength of public opinion to aid the cause, (as they did in obtaining the abolition of slavery in our colonies), are *lulled into inaction*, through a false impression that the extent of the slave-trade is already greatly lessened, and in course of early extinction from the presence and vigilance of the cruisers. *Let this delusion be put an end to*, and efforts corresponding to those which were made in former days will *again* be made, and, we doubt not, with like success.

With regard to the different course which the Government should adopt to attain the great object of the effectual destruction of the slave-trade, we do not now offer an opinion. Of the efficacy of *any* coercive mode many persons doubt. But it is at

least certain, (and this seems not generally understood) that a properly coercive system, meriting the name of such, *has never yet been tried*, inasmuch as other nations have refused to allow the crews of captured slavers to be *punished as pirates*, merely condemning and confiscating the vessel itself. It is obvious, therefore, that the question of how far the slave-trade can be suppressed by this means has not yet been decided.

What, however, we humbly now contend for is, that the coercive system, *as at present carried on*, has failed, and for the reasons stated, is clearly *worse than useless*, and ought, therefore, to be *at once* abandoned. We also entertain strong hopes, that, if abandoned, the enlightened, and religious, and benevolent feeling of the people of this country will be directed again to this most pressing subject of human suffering; and from such a re-wakening of the national mind to it, more effectual measures are then certain to be taken. Parliament having now assembled, we are of opinion, and would venture to suggest that without loss of time, *petitions from every large town in the kingdom* should be presented, praying for an abandonment of the present system, and for the early consideration and adoption of a better one.

We remain,

Your fellow-labourers in this cause of humanity,

(Signed)

WILLIAM DREWE.

JOHN DYMOND.

ROBERT WERE FOX.

J. C. SERCOMBE.

J. P. NICHOLS.

GEORGE BEYWOOD.

SAMUEL DAVIES.

WILLIAM LEE.

H. SPARKES.

FRANCIS BISHOP.

THOMAS KNOTT.

W. J. P. WILKINSON.

Exeter, 23rd November, 1847.

We need scarcely say, after the efforts we have made to direct public attention to the important object embraced in the foregoing address of our Exeter friends, that we shall in every way in our power co-operate with them and other friends of the Anti-slavery cause in directing the energies of the Government to a more excellent way of suppressing the slave-trade than by armed cruisers.

It is evident, from the tone of the public press, as well as from the communications of those engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, that the time has come when this subject must engage both the attention of Parliament and of the Government. We think we may affirm that the public mind is fast ripening to the conviction, that the armed suppression of the slave-trade is not only extremely costly, both in treasure and in life, but really inefficacious in accomplishing the destruction of the hateful traffic.

It is said by those who are reluctant to abandon the system, that the cruisers make numerous captures, and undoubtedly enhance the price of slaves in the Brazilian and Cuban slave markets. We admit the fact that numerous captures are made, chiefly, however, under the Equipment Article; but the loss sustained by the slave-traders by these captures, is little compared with the profits upon the successful adventures. They are prepared for those losses; it is part of their system to provide for them, and they laugh at the folly which would prevent their access to the African coasts, whilst the markets are open to them and the public functionaries are in their pay.

We have endeavoured to point out to the Government the course which we believe it ought to pursue for the suppression of the slave-trade, and shall be happy to have our hands strengthened by our friends generally throughout the country.

### ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE SWEDISH COLONY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

It gives us the greatest satisfaction to be enabled to announce in the present number of the *Reporter*, that slavery has been completely and for ever abolished in the Island of St. Bartholomew. All honour to the King of Sweden and the states of the realm, for this noble act! Sweden, like Great Britain, is now free from the taint of slavery. Denmark, Holland, and France will soon follow the example; and then we may hope that Portugal and Spain, feeling their bad pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, will go and do likewise.

The following proclamations will speak for themselves:—



## PROCLAMATION.

"We, JAMES H. HAASUM, Knight of the Royal Order of the Sword, Governor in and over this Island of St. Bartholomew, &c. &c. &c.

"JAMES H. HAASUM,

"Whereas the munificence of the States of the realm has rendered it possible to accomplish His Majesty's most gracious and elevated intention to effect, on fair and equitable grounds, the liberation of the slaves in this island from that state of bondage in which they hitherto were held; and the slave owners, by their meritorious zeal to concur with His Majesty in the measure adapted for the purpose, and their readiness to meet his august and just expectations, have greatly facilitated the obtaining of a satisfactory result.

"Now, therefore, it becomes at this moment our bounden duty to impress on the mind of the emancipated people, that the majority of the Swedish nation, which has conferred on them this immense benefit, earns a livelihood only by laborious exertions in the hard struggle against a severe climate. The sacrifice was therefore great and magnanimous, and it is so much the more to be estimated, as it was rendered with the sole view of removing an impediment to the improvement of fellow Christians. That nation has consequently an indispensable right to require that those, who have profited by the generous boon, should show themselves worthy of such a munificence.

"We do also now confidently expect that the labouring classes now emancipated will always endeavour, by gratitude, labour, industry, and a becoming demeanour to render their liberty a blessing to themselves as well as to the community. And we do furthermore call upon them to attend the morning services in the respective churches, to-morrow, Sunday, and then with humble hearts to offer up sincere thanks to Almighty God, for His great mercy, imploring Him to grant them power to make an honourable and Christian use of that liberty they now enjoy.

"Government House, Gustavia, Island of St. Bartholomew, this 9th day of October, 1847.

"J. A. UDDENBERG,

"Secretary of Govt."

## PROCLAMATION.

"We, JAMES H. HAASUM, Knight of the Royal Order of the Sword, Governor in and over this Island of St. Bartholomew, &c. &c. &c.

"JAMES H. HAASUM,

"Whereas our Proclamation of the 17th September last past, informed all whom it might concern, that the abolition of slavery in this Island would be proclaimed on this day, and that His Majesty by an especial favour had been most graciously pleased to grant a new and last term, which by the same Proclamation was limited to the 8th instant, at 12 o'clock in the day, within which all slaves belonging to inhabitants of this island should be reported and presented for emancipation, under the consequence that no claim or claims whatsoever, to compensation for slave or slaves not so reported and presented, should be accepted and acknowledged by the Crown. And whereas, that term expired yesterday, and the slave emancipation is now thoroughly completed; the Crown having in a fair and just manner compensated the inhabitants for all slaves belonging to them, and which were reported and presented in due time.

"Now, therefore, we do by these presents, in the name of our most gracious Sovereign Oscar, King of Sweden, Norway, &c. &c. &c.

"Ordain and decree, that all bondage and slavery shall for ever henceforth cease to exist and to be tolerated in this Island of St. Bartholomew and dependencies, which is hereby promulgated for the dutiful observance of all whom it may concern.

"Government House, Gustavia, Island of St. Bartholomew, this 9th day of October, 1847.

"J. A. UDDENBERG,

"Secretary of Govt."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1st, 1847.

We much regret to state that the delay in the issue of the *Reporter* this month, has arisen from the severe illness of the Editor and his assistant, which unfortunately happened at a period when other and suitable assistance could not be obtained. We are sure our friends, under these circumstances, will readily forget the disappointment to which they have been subjected.—LONDON, 9TH DEC., 1847.

We need scarcely call the attention of our readers to the documents which they will find in the first part of the *Reporter*, relating to African emigration. They will be found to involve

considerations of the deepest importance to Africa, and to the cause of Negro freedom. The Memorial of the Anti-Slavery Committee, which follows Lord Grey's despatch, will show the grounds on which they feel it to be their duty to oppose this new scheme for supplying the emancipated colonies with foreign labour.

That the West India body are not, and will not be satisfied with Lord Grey's measure, is already certain. They think the Noble Lord is too squeamish about the internal slave-trade; and therefore they boldly ask for unrestricted access to the Coast of Africa; not that they may obtain the voluntary service of freemen,—for that they know to be impossible,—but that they may be permitted freely to purchase slaves wherewith to cultivate their plantations.

As a specimen of the audacity of this party, we give the following extract from a memorial transmitted to the Colonial Secretary, by the Chamber of Commerce, of Kingston, Jamaica, in June last:—

"That were steps taken by Her Majesty's Government, not merely to sweep away, as at present, the piratical vessels employed in the slave trade, but to provide means of transport for the thousands of slaves brought down by native princes for sale and shipment to the foreign trader, the cause of humanity and religion would be eminently served; whilst the slave-trade would speedily perish for want of supply.

"That however objectionable it might appear on a superficial consideration, to lend anything like encouragement to the system of slavery which at present exists in Africa, yet, that experience and reason show, that so long as the demand for slaves shall exist in foreign countries, so long will Africa afford the supply; and that whilst external vigilance on the part of Great Britain may diminish, to a considerable extent, the number of human beings actually and eventually committed to slavery in Cuba and Brazil, still a large number must and do escape that vigilance; the sufferings of these latter being aggravated both on the coast and on board the slaver.

"That your memorialists verily believe that the most, if not the only effectual method of abolishing, not merely the slave-trade, but slavery itself, would, in connexion with the present active measures adopted by the Government through its naval force, be to negotiate with the native princes of Africa to allow and promote the free emigration of their subjects: also to ransom their prisoners of war; and in lieu of the noxious and gorged slave-ship, to afford the victim of savage cupidity the accommodation of a ventilated and comfortable British emigrant ship, thereby providing for his manumission, and changing his lot from one of perpetual slavery to the happy condition of a free Christian denizen of a British colony."

In placing this extract on record, we can scarcely repress our indignation. Who does not see that if these memorialists were listened to, the labours of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Buxton and Lushington, for the deliverance of Africa from the slave-trade, would prove a nullity; and that every law which this country has passed for the last thirty-five years against the inhuman traffic, must be repealed. Besides, it will be seen, that these gentlemen not only wish to enjoy the advantages of a slave-trade for themselves, but that they expect it will be carried on for them at the public expense. They expect that Government will "provide means of transport for the thousands of slaves brought down for sale and shipment to the foreign trader;" that Government will "negotiate with the native princes of Africa to allow and promote the free emigration of their subjects," and "to ransom their prisoners of war." We need scarcely point out to our readers, that the consequence of this would be a vast increase in the internal African slave-trade, and a provocation to more bloody and desolating wars than have yet taken place in Africa. Lord Grey is not prepared to go thus far with the West India body; but, in our opinion, he has gone beyond the verge of safety, if not of law, in opening the Kroo Coast to the would-be slave-traffickers of the West Indies. The attempt to enforce their views by the statement, that "the cause of humanity and religion would be eminently served" thereby, is simply disgusting. For the present we leave this subject; but we would have our friends be prepared to fight the battle of the slave-trade over again, with the old enemies of the anti-slavery cause; reinforced by a certain, but we trust, a very small portion of *soi-disant* political economists, of which Mr. Joseph Hume is the type and representative.

The West Indians are all astir. Roused to action by the losses they have sustained by the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British markets, combined with the commercial restrictions to which they are yet subject, they are putting forth all their strength to recover the protection which they have lost; and to secure themselves, in future, every commercial advantage which the most



favoured nation enjoys. They cannot be blamed for this; but it would have been a happy circumstance for them, if, when their strength would have been felt, and their voice heard, they had resisted the introduction of Brazilian and Cuban sugar, on the ground that its inlet would infallibly lead to an extension of the slave-trade and to the aggravation of the horrors of slavery. Their representatives, however, in this country were more intent on securing what they deemed equivalents for the competition they would have to encounter, than on the question of humanity and freedom. They made terms with the Government,—terms which they, no doubt, considered advantageous, and in doing so, they committed what, in our judgment, was a blunder and a crime.

With us the exclusion of slave-grown sugar from the British markets was a matter of principle. We were thoroughly convinced that to promote the consumption of that blood-stained article—the produce of piracy and murder—would prove most calamitous for Africa, and terrible in its effects on the welfare and freedom of the human race. On this ground we did battle with the Government up to the last moment; but we were overcome. The public would not listen to our plea. They were told by those, in whose judgment they placed more confidence than in ours, that the effect of the introduction of slave-grown sugars into the home markets, would be the reverse of that stated by us, though they produced neither facts nor arguments, to support their opinions; and as Parliament adopted their opinions, Lord John Russell, with the assistance of Sir Robert Peel, and the acquiescence of the West India Committee, was enabled to carry that fatal measure, the disastrous effects of which are beginning to be visible.

Though we feel bound to condemn the course taken by the West India Committee, and the leading members of the West India body, in this country, and to consider them *particeps criminis* in the introduction of slave-grown sugar into our markets, we beg it to be understood that we do not bring the same charge against the colonists at large. On the contrary, it is impossible not to sympathize with them in the losses they have sustained, by the immense fall in the price of sugar consequent upon the introduction of the produce of Cuba and Brazil.

It is melancholy to reflect on the mischief and misery which are produced by the wrong application of right principles. If the Government had been content to equalize the duties on British plantation and foreign free-grown sugar, at the same time that they reduced the duty on both, the consumer would have had the full benefit of the operation; the supply would have been sufficiently abundant, to have kept the price moderate; and the cause of general emancipation would have been advanced. Under the present measure, however, a mighty stimulus has been given to the slave-trade—the price of slave-properties in Cuba have advanced twenty-five per cent., and, in consequence of the number of new sugar estates which have been opened in Brazil, the demand for Africans is greater than the supply. Whether the West Indians will be able to stand the shock of present circumstances is problematical: we sincerely trust they may; but we warn them to beware of rendering their case worse by injudicious schemes of immigration, coercive laws, and an oppressive taxation on the labouring class.

We have devoted a large portion of the latter part of the *Reporter*, of this month, to the affairs of the West Indies and Mauritius. We have given at length the communications of various parties, professing to represent these Colonies, to the Government. Taking their representations to be true, it must be clear that no amount of assistance, which the Government can legitimately afford, can preserve them from ruin. Bad however, as their case unquestionably is, we trust it is not quite so desperate as they would have us believe.

Undoubtedly the proximate cause of West India distress and embarrassment, is the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British markets. With the increased production of the emancipated colonies and British India, it was not possible that 40,000 tons of slave-grown sugar, representing the labour of 60,000 slaves, should be thrown on the markets without producing the most disastrous effects. The West Indies and Mauritius could not stand the competition; but Cuba and Brazil have derived immense advantages from this new outlet for their blood-stained productions. The West India Committee, in their memorandum to Lord John Russell, tell the Government, first, “that the West India Colonies cannot be maintained in cultivation without a differential duty of at least 10s. per cwt. on slave-grown sugar, to

be continued for such a period, as shall enable them to be fully supplied with labour.” Secondly, they require the removal of “every kind of restriction upon immigration into the Colonies;” and that, in order to secure an abundance of labour, “it will not suffice merely to permit emigration from Africa, but “that it must be openly and zealously encouraged.” For which purpose, they “trust that Her Majesty’s Government will be pleased to employ a part of the funds appropriated to the slave-trade;” and yet, thirdly, they “hope that more effectual measures will be devised for the coercive suppression of the slave-trade!” They further ask, fourthly, that authority may be obtained “from Parliament to guarantee loans, upon satisfactory provision being made for their liquidation, to encourage drainage, and other agricultural improvements, on terms analogous to those of the acts passed for similar purposes, during the last session.” Fifthly, they “confidently expect that the duties on rum will be reduced to equality with the duties on home-made spirits.” And sixthly, they “renew their request to be permitted to bring the produce of the Colonies to market in any form which may be found most convenient, and to refine it in bond before entering it for home consumption.” To these demands the agents representing Barbadoes, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis, St. Vincent, Dominica, Grenada, and Jamaica, add, “the removal of restraints in the conveyance of their produce, as well as of all restrictions and obstructions to the free use and consumption of such produce in the home market.” The Mauritius Associations go further still; they demand, that the colony which they represent, shall be relieved from the load of taxes, which at present overburden it; and add, that, “If there be truth in first principles, it will be difficult to justify any tax on British sugar, while corn goes free to the consumer; and still less is it consistent, that foreign corn should go free, while British sugar is taxed,” and, therefore, they ask, in effect, that their sugars may be introduced into this country free of all duty.

To what extent, and in what ways the legislature may be induced to meet the demands of the sugar growers and proprietors of our colonies, it is impossible to say: Our doctrine has been and still is, prohibit the introduction of slave-grown sugar; relieve West India commerce of every restriction, which impedes its full development; lower the duties on British plantation and foreign free-labour sugar, and, at the same time, equalize them; curtail the enormous taxation, which destroys the energies of the most industrious and enterprising of the resident colonists; and, if immigration be thought indispensable, let it be conducted wholly at the expense of those intended to be benefitted thereby, provided always that the Government insist upon an equality of the sexes being introduced, and that every precaution be taken, not only that none but free-men be imported into the colonies, but that they be subjected to no exceptional legislation when there. In obtaining measures such as these, we are ready to assist any party either in or out of the Parliament.

Our friends will be highly gratified to learn, that slavery has at length been completely abolished in the Swedish West India Colony, St. Bart’s; the particulars reached us by the last West India Mail, and will be found in another part of our paper.

We have great pleasure in mentioning the fact, that the Board of Correspondence, established in Paris to promote the immediate and complete abolition of slavery, are actively engaged in obtaining signatures to petitions having that object in view. The French Anti-slavery Society is acting with equal zeal in this great work; nor are individuals, who take a deep interest in the question, less active; we may therefore hope, that so large a number of signatures will be obtained before the Petitions are presented to the Chambers, as shall convince the Government that they can no longer refuse to terminate the atrocious system of slavery which exists in the French Colonies.

The late West India Mail has brought us much important intelligence, which we regret we cannot insert in the present *Reporter*. The planters are getting up meetings in all quarters, and intend to hold a convention in the island of St. Thomas, for the purpose of determining upon a common course of action with respect to the present state of West India affairs. We would remind our readers, however, that the people, who form at least nine-tenths of the community, are not likely to be represented there; they, we hope, will find some other means of bringing their grievances, and the view they take of existing affairs, under the attention of Parliament.



## THE WEST INDIA EMBARRASMENTS.

The following is the copy of a memorandum which has been lately communicated by the acting committee of West India planters and merchants to Her Majesty's Government:—

"1. The committee cannot doubt that the alarming state of the West India colonies has attracted the attention of Her Majesty's Government; yet they feel constrained to represent that it is such as to demand the most serious and prompt consideration. So grievous is the depression to which they are reduced, and so little confidence is entertained of any amendment, that their credit is utterly destroyed.

"2. This deplorable crisis has been entirely occasioned by the acts of the Imperial Parliament. Within the last fifteen years these colonies have been subjected to a series of measures, social and fiscal, which have effected a complete revolution in their condition. The transition from bondage to perfect freedom, which, in Europe, was the work of ages, and only accomplished by the greater cheapness of free labour, was there precipitated without due preparation.

"3. The landed proprietors had scarcely commenced their attempt to overcome the inevitable difficulties of their new position, when they were required to compete with the immense possessions of the East India Company, enjoying the advantage of the cheapest free labour in the world, their trade with foreign nations being, at the same time, free from the restrictions imposed upon the West India colonies.

"4. A few years more only had elapsed, during which many proprietors sank into ruin, and all had to maintain a most arduous and unprofitable struggle, when they were exposed to further competition with every country having the semblance of freedom, while they were themselves prohibited from endeavouring to procure an accession of suitable labourers.

"5. This measure was, indeed, accompanied by a strong public assurance, that the produce of all countries cultivated by slaves would continue to be excluded; Parliament having adopted it on that ground by a large majority. And relying upon this assurance, great efforts were made, and large additional capital was invested, in order to diminish the fixed charges of cultivation by increased production.

"6. All who thus confided in the stability of the imperial policy towards the colonies were, however, doomed to suffer severe disappointment. In less than fifteen months, the same Parliament that had been so careful to mark the distinction between freedom and slavery, and to proclaim their solemn decision for the encouragement of supplies from the free countries, disregarded their own act, and suddenly resolved to admit the produce of slaves and freemen on equal terms.

"7. The difficulties and charges which these successive measures have inflicted on the West India colonies have at length brought them to a state of depression bordering on despair. All their efforts have been rendered fruitless by the unexpected admission of slave grown sugar, and they have even tended, by augmenting the supply, to aggravate their loss. And now, seeing the slave-trade rapidly extending, as evinced by the greater number of captures, and the testimony of those employed to suppress it, they cannot discover encouragement, or find means to continue the struggle they have so long maintained, unless Her Majesty's Government shall immediately interpose with vigorous legislation for their relief and support.

"8. The committee are aware that, notwithstanding the great decline in the value of West India property, and the discredit in which it is held, some public men profess to doubt these notorious facts, and to insist that the colonies, without being further relieved from restriction, or supported by favour of any kind, are able to contend successfully with all their competitors. This opinion must rest upon the assumption that the proprietors, who are almost all dependent on their colonial estates, have made no exertions to render them productive, and it also implies that the merchants, who are deeply concerned in the results of their cultivation, are indifferent to their success—premises so improbable, that, were they not frequently set forth, the committee would not even seem to believe they can have any influence with Her Majesty's Government.

"9. The proofs of their failure are unfortunately too palpable to admit of any question with an unprejudiced observer. Property cannot be sold, securities cannot be assigned, mortgages cannot realize interest. There can be no doubt as to the condition of any country of which these averments can be truly made. The merchants, without whose support much of that property could not be cultivated, find themselves drawn from year to year into increased advances. With the utmost reluctance to augment their amount, and yet unwilling to abandon all hope of retrieval, both proprietors and merchants are involved in accumulating embarrassment. Under this wasting conflict their fortunes disappear, their numbers diminish, and the estates they have made such sacrifices to uphold are gradually abandoned.

"10. This unnatural state of the colonies cannot continue, and events must soon bring it forcibly to a close. If the extraneous resources by which they have been sustained be at length exhausted, the ruin of the proprietors and their consignees will not be the only consequence. All classes of the population must suffer from their fall, for all are alike

concerned in the successful culture of their staple products, and especially sugar. They are destitute of manufactures, even the most simple; and dependent also upon foreign supplies for many things which they have been accustomed to regard as necessities of life. The peasantry may raise food for mere subsistence, but without exports they cannot have imports; and, deprived of the capital and intelligence of the proprietors, they would not have the means of producing any exchangeable commodity of the least importance. Although they have hitherto been eminently prosperous, because they have been able to exact more for their labour than its produce has yielded, they cannot be exempted from all participation in the fate of those by whom they are employed. The interests of both are, in fact, identical; though for a time their adjustment may be deferred.

"11. In these lamentable circumstances the committee most anxiously appeal to Her Majesty's Government. Although the representations they made on a former occasion, with regard to the injustice and impolicy of admitting slave-grown sugar on equal terms with the produce of free countries, were unheeded, they cannot but hope that the truth of the statements which were then submitted, will be recognized in the disastrous effects which that measure has already produced. With the further experience they have had, they beg leave now to declare their conviction, that the West India colonies cannot be maintained in cultivation without a differential duty of at least 10s. per cwt. on slave-grown sugar, to be continued for such a period as shall enable them to be fully supplied with labour. With this support assured to them, and other measures adopted for their relief and advancement, confidence might be restored, and capital found, not only to maintain cultivation, but also to carry forward every improvement. This policy the committee firmly believe would at once save the colonies from ruin, and prove the most certain, as well as the most desirable, means of securing an abundant and cheap supply of sugar. The admission of slave labour produce has, in the meantime, greatly reduced the price; but it is obvious that the advantages of abundance and cheapness can only be permanently obtained from profitable cultivation. Equal rates of duty cannot, however, insure fair competition between countries cultivated by free men receiving high wages for moderate work, and those which are cultivated by the forced and unrequited labour of slaves. The committee trust that the very critical position in which they and their constituents are placed, will afford a sufficient apology for their importunity in again pressing these considerations most earnestly upon the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

"12. The committee have for many years urged in vain the necessity of removing every kind of restriction upon immigration into the colonies. They once more respectfully repeat their claim for perfect freedom of intercourse, and for the right of hiring labourers wherever they can be found willing to enter into their service. Without an abundant supply of free labour it is impossible to contend with an unlimited supply of slaves. In order to secure that abundance it will not suffice merely to permit emigration from Africa; it must be openly and zealously encouraged. For that purpose, the committee trust that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to employ a part of the funds appropriated to the suppression of the slave-trade; and, instead of shrinking with timid apprehension before the bold defiance and calumnies of the slave-trader, that they will use all their influence to substitute free emigration for his cruel traffic.

"13. Another source of supply of free labour might be found in an improved arrangement for the liberation and settlement of captured Africans. They have hitherto been sent chiefly to Sierra Leone; but it was proved before a committee of the House of Commons, so long ago as 1842, that these people could not there find any means of comfortable subsistence, and were not even certain of their freedom; and the Committee of Inquiry accordingly reported, that 'It would be well for the African, in every point of view, to find himself a free labourer in the free British West India colonies, enjoying there, as he would, higher advantages of every kind than have fallen to the lot of the negro race in any other portion of the globe.'

"14. The committee hope that more effectual measures will be devised for the coercive suppression of the slave-trade; and they would respectfully suggest, that a portion of the naval force engaged in that service, especially steamers, should be stationed off the coasts of the transatlantic countries to which the slaves are conveyed. Captures made there would still further aggravate the loss of the slave trader, and so discourage the traffic.

"15. The committee also trust that Her Majesty's Government will be disposed to extend to the West India colonies the same sympathy which was last year manifested towards the agriculturists of the mother country; and that they will seek authority from Parliament to guarantee loans, upon satisfactory provision being made for their liquidation, to encourage drainage, and other agricultural improvements, on terms analogous to those of the acts passed for similar purposes, during last session.

"16. The committee further confidently expect that the duties on rum will be reduced to equality with the duties on home-made spirits; and that the act of 10 Victoria, cap. 6, permitting the distillation of sugar,



will be so amended as to render the drawback of duty sufficient, and also permit the use of sugar along with grain, as well as separately. They cannot admit that the scruples of excise-officers, or the alleged restrictions imposed upon distillers, are valid objections to their claims. To the colonies these seem only pretexts to cover concessions of protection, to their disadvantage; for it is obvious that arrangements can be made for ascertaining the actual quantity of spirits distilled, and levying the revenue thereon, as securely without these restrictions as with them.

"17. The committee beg likewise to renew their request to be permitted to bring the produce of the colonies to market in any form which may be found most convenient, and to refine it in bond before entering it for home consumption.

"The measures here suggested are not only in perfect accordance with just policy, but almost all of them are necessary to render the legislation of Parliament consistent. The necessities of the colonies have, however, become so urgent, that, unless their credit can be restored by a prompt declaration of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, extensive disasters must immediately ensue. Already many proprietors are unable to raise funds to pay wages—every packet carries back a large amount of bills protested—the resources which have for years enabled them to cultivate their estates are exhausted or withheld—all parties connected with them have lost the hope which has hitherto sustained their exertions—without extraneous aid, the growing crop cannot be reaped—and that aid will not be given, except upon an assurance that the crop will yield more than the cost of producing it.

(Signed) "CHARLES CAVE, Chairman."

"West India Committee Rooms, London, Oct. 25."

#### NOTE FROM THE WEST INDIA AGENTS, TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GREY, &c., &c., &c.

The undersigned feel it their duty at this eventful crisis, to bring under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, the perilous position of the West India interests confided to their care, and to claim, on their behalf, whatever relief can be afforded to them in their present depressed condition.

They beg leave in the first place, to advert to the restrictions imposed on obtaining labour, the want of which has been occasioned by a premature emancipation of the slaves, without due provision having been made for supplying the labour so abstracted, instead of extending the term to a lengthened period of years, employed in securing, as in other times and in other countries, habits of industry, to prepare the labourer for the transition from slavery to freedom; while the prohibition to the rising generation being apprenticed to agricultural pursuits, by which industry would have been beneficially promoted, has certainly operated as a bar to cultivation.

This want of labour has necessarily occasioned an increased cost of production in the British Colonies, added to which has been the admission of sugar from slave-trading and other countries for home consumption, produced at a far cheaper rate than it can be raised in the British West Indies.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the effects produced by the failures here of West India merchants, arising mainly out of this measure, on the planters in the West Indies; the return of protested bills—the inability to pay wages to the labourers—the estates uncultivated and ultimately abandoned—the consequent disorganization of the population—in short, the arresting the progress of civilization, and the waste of sums expended in inculcating the principles of Christianity, and the uselessness to the colonists and to the nation of these possessions hereafter for commercial or agricultural purposes.

The undersigned, as well as those they represent, have hitherto abstained from refuting, nor should they now notice the allegation had it not been lately revived, as an argument against affording them relief; of their having received twenty millions sterling as a compensation in full of any legislative measures to which they may be subjected, and of their having been thus enriched at the cost of this country; the contrary is the truth, their case is one of peculiar hardship; the alleged compensation forced on them was not equivalent to five shillings in the pound, or less than a fourth of the then value of their property, and has been in fact since appropriated to the payment of such wages as the labourers thought fit to exact; the estates have been cultivated at a loss, or sold at less than a tithe of their value, or abandoned for want of purchasers. In short, the Acts of the British Parliament so far from enriching the planters, have converted their incomes into debts, and have rendered their property, in most cases, valueless; still such is the vegetative productiveness in the tropics, that even yet, with the assistance of capital and a fostering care, they are capable of being restored to their former prosperity.

It has been, moreover, alleged that absenteeism is the cause of West India distress—it is not so: it is felt severely in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, which the undersigned represent, where they are, proportionately, more resident owners than in the other

Colonies, and where more experiments and improvements have been made in cultivation than elsewhere. The residence of proprietors could not have averted the glut of slave-sugar, the main cause of the distress.

While Her Majesty's Government deem it a duty to carry out certain principles of legislation, affecting the welfare of these Colonies, the undersigned feel convinced of the earnest desire to afford them aid and assistance to relieve their unparalleled distress, and therefore submit that the suggestions which they venture to proffer, do not invade these principles, the basis of which is understood to be the right of the consumer to purchase in the cheapest market.

The undersigned contend, that, unless the West India Colonies are encouraged and enabled to compete with their rivals here, the British sugar market will be converted into a slave-grown sugar monopoly; for if the cultivation of their estates be no longer profitable, sugar will not be produced, and there will be less competition.

The undersigned respectfully submit, that, with reference to the inevitably higher cost of production of sugar in the British West Indies, compared with the cheaper cost of production of Eastern and slave-grown sugar, the differential duty imposed on this produce, was not commensurate, and they would refer, in support of this opinion, to the relative prices of British and foreign sugar in 1841 to 1845, as a fair period for reference, as the market had not then become agitated and deranged by new measures.

For example:—

The price of British plantation sugar on an average of five years was	.. .. .	35s. per cwt.
Foreign sugar was sold on the same average of years, at	.. .. .	18s. per cwt.

Difference in favour of slave sugar .. 17s. per cwt.

Yet the differential duty was fixed at 7s. per cwt., diminishing annually to an equality in five years.

The sound principle has been usually admitted, that, to put down slavery and the slave-trade, the British planter should be enabled to undersell the slave-holding planters; and it is conceived that this might be accomplished at a less sacrifice than at present, by encouraging the British planter in his cultivation, and still secure competition.

It is a generally received opinion, that if the present scale of differential duties on sugar were suspended, and a duty of 10s. per cwt. substituted—that is, 24s. per cwt. on foreign sugar, and 14s. per cwt. on British plantation—that confidence might be restored; that capital might be forthcoming, and that the cultivation would proceed steadily. Coupled with this indispensable encouragement, the refining in bond for home consumption, the removal of restraints in the conveyance of their produce, as well as all restrictions and obstructions to the free use and consumption of such produce in the home market, so as to place the Colonists on the footing of their fellow-countrymen in their native land, would be necessary to their prosperity, and thus a competition with foreign sugar be maintained for the benefit of the consumer.

In conclusion, the undersigned would respectfully express the expectation that the same indulgence, in regard to loans which have been granted to the agriculturists at home, will not be refused to the Colonists.

J. P. MYERS, Agent for Barbadoes.

E. L. NUGENT, Agent for Antigua, and Montserrat.

J. COLQUHOUN, Agent for St. Christopher, Nevis, St. Vincent, Dominica, and the Virgins.

J. MARRYATT, Agent for Grenada.

THOMSON HANKEY, Jun., on behalf of Jamaica.

St. James's Place,  
4th November, 1847.

#### THE MAURITIUS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Mauritius Association, 26, Austin Friars, London,  
28th October, 1847.

MY LORD,—The Mauritius Association of London have had painful occasion to call your lordship's attention to the probable or possible effects upon the colony, resulting from the prostration of nearly every merchant in London connected with Mauritius.

Your lordship has kindly listened to our representations, and through your medium the Government has been pleased to grant those measures of relief, which we presumed to bring under notice in our letter of the 15th instant.

Your lordship has directed the Government of Bengal to watch the shipments of rice; and in case the same do not average 30,000 bags per month, then the Bengal Government will take measures to provide for any deficiency that may appear in shipments from Calcutta.

To provide food for the population is undoubtedly the first principle; and to follow that, you have,

Secondly, Given to the colonists the certain means of paying wages to their labourers, and thereby enabling them to purchase and pay for their food; that is, you have secured to the planters an advance of £9 per



ton on sugars they may wish to ship to their own correspondents in Great Britain—the same to be hypothecated to Government to cover such advance.

Thirdly. Your lordship has been pleased to sanction the establishment of a Government Colonial Bank in the island of Mauritius, with authority to issue a paper currency in rupees; five, ten, and twenty rupee notes, to become the authorized currency of the colony.

On this head, "The Bank," we venture to remark, that unless the establishment has the power of discount extended to it, or the privilege of issuing notes to the local banks on mercantile securities, we scarcely see how the bank-notes are to find circulation beyond the period of advancing on sugar; but this remains to be tested.

Fourthly. Your lordship acquaints us that you have called the governor's attention to the necessity of a material reduction on the charges of registration of deeds; this has long been a crying evil, operating severely against those in need, and a restraint on commerce in the transfer security.

At this particular moment the relief will prove most timely; and, on the part of your lordship, is at once a kind, politic, and just measure.

We now approach your lordship, to offer our most sincere and very grateful acknowledgments for those timely measures of relief to the colony in the hour of extreme need; whatever may be the result, we must say that your lordship has responded to our call in the kindest manner, and with a readiness and promptitude of action that has never been surpassed; and we beg, in the name of the colony, to tender to your lordship our warmest thanks.

These kind acts go far to impress the association with the idea that the interests of the colony are still considered of value, and dear to the mother country, in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government.

But if these palliative measures be not the mere impulse of philanthropy in the moment of distress, we would invite your lordship to avail yourself of the occasion to inquire how has the general bankruptcy of merchants come to pass.

At such a moment as the present we are certainly little disposed to cast blame on any one, but we simply say to your lordship, "Endeavour to provide now against a continuation or recurrence of our present evils."

The fact is but too palpable that the cultivation of sugar in the Mauritius has not been profitable; all who have been engaged therein, and all who have given credit to the planter, have sunk their capital; each year calls for fresh advances, and all becomes absorbed and swallowed up in the vortex. Why is it so?

We venture, without fear of contradiction, to say, that if any one colony belonging to the British crown be more likely than another to compete with slave-producing colonies, and to carry out the fullest extent the principles of free-trade, that Mauritius should unquestionably be the successful competitor.

1. Labour. There is the entire sea-board of India close at hand—the natives anxious to come to earn our wages; and, if left to themselves, could find their passage at £3 to £4 per man, which the planter would pay for them, if allowed to contract for the cost to be repaid in work. Why should British subjects be restrained from traversing between adjacent districts or colonies more than between Scotland, Ireland, and England?

It is because of rules and laws, which, however plausible at the moment of enactment, are now inapplicable; and, as a nuisance, should at this moment be abolished.

2. Supplies. Madagascar is adjacent, and, for many years, supplies of cattle for food and labour were drawn thence, and paid for in British manufactures; and a large profitable source of exchange then existed, and ought still to exist.

But, unhappily for Mauritius, a rupture has taken place with the Queen of Madagascar, and Her Majesty's ships have united with those of France in bombarding her towns. She has been insulted and abused, or thinks she has been, and all communication is now cut off.

Has Her Majesty no officers capable of negotiating with the Queen of Madagascar, except by the medium of gunpowder and onslaught? Surely there must be such; and if so, why not try to mend the rent, and heal the sores that have been created; princes and people are all placable, and where kindly entreated, with mutual interest in the scale, why should we doubt of success?

3. Ordinary provisions the island has in abundance from the Indian sea board; and in paying for rice, we supply to India the means of taking British manufactures.

4. The soil, climate, and seasons are all most propitious for the sugar cane, as the amount of production sufficiently proves; and it may be greatly increased, were the natural advantages improved upon, and not blighted and destroyed by "mal-administration."

Under this head, we venture to touch the subject generally.

The produce of the colony is wholly "sugar," and the average annual amount 50,000 tons.

On this commodity your lordship has thought the present prospects of the market justifies an advance of £9 per ton, which would be £450,000.

The taxes exigible in the colony, are £250,000, and if the immigration tax be added, then they amount to £300,000. This constitutes a charge of £6 per ton on the sugar produce. It is true there may be many partial contributors to the said duties of £300,000, but still, where there is but one article of production, it is reasonable to say that the said produce does directly or indirectly pay the taxes of the colony; and we submit to your lordship's consideration that such a charge is unbearable.

We ascribe the late break down of the Mauritius merchants to this unequal burden; and on behalf of those who remain, or may succeed, we pray for instant mitigation.

The first item of mitigation is, the "one pound sterling per ton duty on sugar exported."

This tax, on "gross produce," is condemned, as the very worst possible tax, by every disciple of the school of political economy. Taxes are all objectionable, but why should your lordship choose to prefer, and to continue, the very worst in principle to be enforced in Mauritius.

The governor, Sir W. Gomm, pleads that it is the most convenient for him to collect; and he resorts to the old stock piece of evasion, "Say in what other quarter shall I exact the money required?"

We answer, that, find it how he may, he should not stultify every principle of the Government by retaining the very one most opposed to reason. Next we say, that Sir W. Gomm is already in the receipt of a substitute for this tax, in the stamps now collecting on contracts with labourers, and it is a breach of Government faith to exact both at the same time. We are aware that the export duty on sugar was in part specially applicable for immigration purposes, but that will not excuse the crime against principle; indeed, his pretext will no longer apply, for there are funds already in hand to cover all the charges on immigration, seeing the prospect of so many estates being abandoned after the present crop.

We, therefore, most urgently pray your lordship to take one more step in the imperative towards the relief of the colony, and command that this most obnoxious and impolitic tax of £1 per ton, on the crop of 1847-48, be abandoned now and for ever.

"It is worthy of remark here, that in Cuba, the Spaniards last year reduced their export duty, the better to enable their planters to run in the race of competition."

We hope these arguments may induce your lordship at once to relieve the colony tax of £1 per ton, or £50,000 per annum.

There still remains about £250,000 per annum, or £5 per ton, on the average produce of the island.

The amount comprises the whole establishment, civil and military, of the garrison and colony of Mauritius.

Now we do not presume to offer an opinion of Mauritius, as a naval and military position, and as the key to the Eastern seas.

It may, like Gibraltar or Malta, be worth millions in a political point of view, and it is for Her Majesty's Government in its wisdom, to direct in all such measures.

All we ask for is, that Her Majesty's Government shall not exact from the array of bankrupt estates, and poor planters of Mauritius, the expenses of this military position; it is no more in their power to meet it, than the inhabitants of Malta, Gibraltar, or Portsmouth, are competent to pay for their garrisons and arsenals.

These sugar makers have no favour or protection offered to them prospectively in the British markets, and can no longer be expected to submit to such inappropriate charges on *their industry*.

These inhabitants are not in a position to resist a wrong, as did the Americans last century, but they can appeal to your lordship and Her Majesty's Government, to deal with them justly and kindly, for protection and even succour in their peaceful pursuits.

And when their present condition is shown, as a body, to be embarrassed or bankrupt, it must be apparent that there is organic wrong in your system of legislation.

Resistance, we repeat, is not in our power, neither is it in the power of these individuals to submit; for submission has ruined them, and all who are connected with them; their only alternative is to abandon cultivation, and then of course will end the controversy. But you will find that the result forces upon you the support of the garrison from your own resources, and the feeding of a colony of beggars.

To counteract or prevent such possible contingencies, we now venture to propose for your lordship's kind consideration,

That Mr. Macauley, or some qualified person, be instructed to inquire and report how to carry into effect our proposition.

That the Government do take over to themselves all that may be deemed national, and maintain the same.

That all that is colonial or municipal be left to the people, and supported by them.

That charters of incorporation be granted to the towns, and a sheriff's court, on the Scotch model, for the county or landed interests. The whole island is only the size and population of an ordinary county; and under such an arrangement, the expenses need not exceed £25,000, or 10s. per ton, on the produce of the colony, which, as opposed to £6 per ton, makes all the difference as between life and death to hope.

We, my lord, prefer an entire and thorough purging of the system, to any partial attempt to amend or purify the old civil list.



In our humble opinion, the present civil list, if reduced fifty per cent., from the governor downwards, the moral and physical effect would all be for the better; there should be a reduction in their number to the same extent.

The establishment is infinitely too large for any good purpose; over-paid and under-worked, the result, as usual in all such cases, is not satisfactory. But, nevertheless, should your lordship be bold enough to propose a reduction on any one point, or on any one individual, a thousand remonstrances will be made; therefore, the best and most facile course will be—an entire clearance!

The middle course would be to apportion a maximum sum for the expenditure of the colony, and send out instructions for the reduction of the establishment to meet it, and to allow of no remonstrance.

To conclude, we have, in the foregoing remarks, endeavoured to point out to your lordship, 1st, wherein we humbly consider the colony of Mauritius to have received favour, in its present hour of distress.

2. We have traced the causes of that distress.

3. We have pointed out the remedies that appear applicable to cure the present evil, and to prevent the recurrence thereof.

We do not, however, attempt to deny that over speculation, and a too eager desire for extension, may, in general terms, be laid to our charge; but may it not be based on the same rule which says, "that rebellion never succeeds?" even so it is with speculation,—it is wise, or wicked, according to its success or failure.

What we have to say is, that had your lordship's party, and the previous Government, conducted your operations wisely, then our planters and our colonies would not be in their present condition; nor would it fall to be our duty now to point out to your lordship these various arrangements, which should, in honest truth and justice, have long preceded, and not have been left to follow, like a dead weight, on the flight of free-trade.

Who could suppose that you would attempt to fly your theory with such a millstone attached to it? The finest principles may be upset and blighted from want of arrangement or precaution. Our colonial interests stand now as completely ruined. It may be that your principles or theory are not wrong, so much as that the premonitory arrangements were overlooked, or held cheap.

If your lordship shall now see the fatal blot, we may suppose that you will hasten to cover it. And as an act of common justice, we entreat of your lordship to move Her Majesty's Government to enact in the ensuing Parliament an alteration in the duties on sugar, by reducing the rate on colonial produce to one penny per lb., say 9s. 4d. per cwt.; keeping foreign at 20s. per cwt. as it now stands, which would be a measure calculated to restore confidence and credit to Her Majesty's colonies, and enable them to prepare for entering fairly hereafter into the contest with slave-producing countries, into which your recent measures have infused new life and vigour, whilst they have all but sealed the fate of our own colonies.

Lastly. We pray that when the colonial interests of this empire, which are specially under the protection of your lordship, come under consideration, that your lordship will then be prepared to assert these rights to be considered as an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions. What though seas, rivers, or march walls divide them, they are all British property alike, and brother subjects; their products, whether meal, malt, or sugar, are all alike "British," and alike the aliment of man; and on principle, each of them is entitled to equal consideration in your administration of justice and legislation.

If there be truth in these first principles, it will be difficult to justify any tax or duty on British sugar, while corn goes free to the consumer; and still less is it consistent that foreign corn should go free, while British sugar is taxed.

One parting favour we have to seek from your lordship's justice, which is, that you will be pleased candidly to tell us if we may expect, and when, the extension of the measures of relief prayed for, to the colony. For without such an assurance, it will be still more mad speculation than ever to continue the cultivation of our plantations. After the late wreck of London merchants, the planter cannot ask, or expect, that new men will come forward with capital to aid our colonial industry.

Your lordship has come forward nobly to afford momentary relief to the pressing distress of the colony. We now pray your lordship will be pleased shortly to enable us to report to the island what further encouragement will be given to the enterprise and industry of the colonists.

We have the honour to remain, my Lord,

Your lordship's very obedient servants,

D. BARCLAY, Chairman.  
H. HUNTER, Deputy Chairman.  
CHALMERS, GUTHRIE, AND CO.  
H. D. AND JAS. BLYTH AND GREENE.  
BARCLAY, BROTHERS, AND CO.  
REID, IRVING, AND CO.  
COCKERELL, LARPENT, AND CO.  
SAMUEL BAKER.  
A. A. GOWER, NEPHEWS, AND CO.  
ANDREW STEELE.  
JOHN CLIFFORD.  
EDWARD CHAPMAN.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey, Her Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies, Downing-street.

#### THE FOLLOWING IS THE REPLY TO THE ABOVE MEMORIAL.

Downing-street, 5th November, 1847.

Gentlemen,—I am directed by Earl Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo.

It has not been without some degree of disappointment, that, with the full acknowledgment of the advantages that will accrue to the colony from the measures which Her Majesty's Government have just adopted for its relief, the members of the Mauritius Association should now press for further measures, such, as his lordship conceives, they must be aware, are far beyond what he has the power to grant.

Lord Grey does not think that any useful purpose would be answered by his entering into a detailed examination of the various suggestions contained in your letter, and the arguments on which you have relied for the support of them, although he is of opinion that it would not be difficult to show, that many of those arguments are ill-founded. His lordship considers it sufficient to refer you to the former correspondence which has passed on these subjects, from which you will learn, that while he is anxious to afford to the Mauritius Association the utmost practicable relief, by the reduction of taxation, and by facilitating a supply of labour, upon the easiest terms for the colony, it is not in his power to give to the governor the peremptory instructions for the immediate removal of particular taxes which are sought for in your letter.

In conclusion, Lord Grey directs me to add, that he is anxious at once to put an end to any expectation which the Mauritius Association may have formed, that he can ever recommend to his colleagues that they should propose to Parliament an alteration in the existing duty upon sugar of the nature which you have suggested. Such an alteration would, in his lordship's opinion, not only be highly unjust to the British consumer, but, in the present state of the finances of this country, would be impracticable with safety to the public credit. And, even, if it were not so objectionable on these grounds, his lordship feels convinced, that, in its ultimate results, it would not prove of advantage, even to the colonies.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

B. HAWES.

Messrs. BARCLAY, HUNTER, and others.

The following is the substance of the reply of the Mauritius Association to the foregoing letter; it is dated Nov. 18, 1847.

They commence by regretting that his lordship should signify his disappointment at the Association pressing for further measures, as they look upon what has been lately done by the Government, as merely casual assistance, and not in the light of permanent relief. They assert, that, unless some relief of a substantial character be afforded, it would have been better to have left them to their fate.

In reply to the statement of Earl Grey, that he has not the power to grant what has been prayed for by them, they aver, that on the emancipation of the slaves, the possession of the British market was pledged to the colonists; and that that privilege has been taken away by power; and, that the colonists are all but ruined. They say, that their market has been given to the slave colonies—that, last year, they supplied 40,000 tons of sugar for our home consumption, equal to the labour of some 60,000 slaves. The consequence will be, that our colonies will cease to grow sugar, and thus the prosperity of the slave colonies will be advanced. That England, instead of promoting the general emancipation of slaves, will become the largest consumer of slave-grown sugar, and the greatest encourager of the slave-trade.

They entreat Lord Grey to take their views into serious consideration, and re-consider their memorial of the 28th of October.

In conclusion, they say, that the present is a moment of crisis, when it is to be decided, whether to prepare to make another crop, or to abandon all future cultivation;—that it rests with the merchants whether they will make the needful advance, to enable the planters to begin another year's work—that, at present, the credit of the colony is demolished.

(Signed) BARCLAY, HUNTER, and others.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

Hampden, 20th October, 1847.

My dear Friend,—All your fears, in reference to the consequences of reducing the duties on slave-produced sugar, are likely to be speedily realized, the sugars having fallen in price 10s. each cwt. within these six months. When all expenses are paid, a ton of sugar will scarcely bring £18, while the expenses of producing it amount to fully that sum; if the present prices therefore continue, the cultivation of this island will soon cease, and all classes of the island will be involved in ruin. If the estates do not even pay the annual contingencies, and if any return for the capital invested in the properties be out of the question, no wise man will continue to remit money to this country.

The remedy which some propose is a reduction of the taxes, and economy in cultivating the estates; but these, if carried to the fullest extent possible, would do very little for us. Wages, for example, are generally reasonable; 1s. 3d. per day is now the general rate for able



labourers, except during crop-time, when those who exert themselves will make somewhat higher wages. There appears to be no other effectual remedy for the colony, but a differential duty on sugar produced by slave labour. I suppose all would be satisfied to compete with free labour, even in more favourable circumstances, if the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British market were restricted. If all restriction be removed, the slave-owner will be the principal gainer, as he will receive the difference between labour honourably paid for, and labour exacted by the whip, and at the expense of the unrequited slave. It is true, Britain will have cheap sugar, but would it not be equally profitable for Britain to pay a little more for each pound of sugar, and receive a compensation in revenue, which must be raised from some source, and of which slave-holders who send their produce to the British markets may justly be compelled to bear even a double share. Britain will thus be consistent in her philanthropy; very little loss, if any, will be sustained by the British public. Those will principally suffer who defraud the slaves of their rights and liberties, the slave-trade will be effectually checked, and those who were so generously emancipated will receive fair wages, instead of being crushed by penury and want. The proprietors, also, who quietly submitted to the change which the abolition of slavery effected, are entitled to some consideration. Their estates are now upon the verge of ruin; and if the proposed equalization of slave and free-grown sugar be carried into full effect, there is no prospect of any favourable change.

I believe your legislators never anticipated such results from the equalization of the duties. Last year, at a public meeting of this parish, I expressed my conscientious conviction that the alarm that prevailed in the colony on this subject was entirely groundless. At a similar meeting held two weeks ago, I was compelled by stubborn facts to retract my opinions, and united with my fellow-parishioners in petitioning Parliament to review those measures which have proved so disastrous to us. A fair proposition of the intelligent and influential planters attended the said meeting, and I generally assented to their calculations, and petition. In one thing, however, I was compelled to dissent,—the immigration question, although I must confess, that on so many estates there is a difficulty in commanding continuous labour, yet all the schemes which have hitherto been tried have signally failed,—such enormous expenses have already been incurred, and such wretchedness has overwhelmed the greater part of the poor strangers themselves, that I am not yet prepared to petition in favour of immigration. Besides, I thought it unwise to ask for more labourers, when they calculated, and I believe justly, that the labour they already had, was entailing a loss of two shillings for each cwt. of sugar that labour produced.

Self interest will of course stimulate the West India body to exertion in the present crisis. And I hope the anti-slavery friends will continue to advocate the cause of the emancipated class. If the present state of things continue, they will sink as certainly, as the sailor goes down with his foundered vessel. The grand experiment which has blessed these colonies with freedom must fail, and the whole mass of the population will be involved in difficulties as distressing as those, which lately desolated Ireland. It is true, if providence continue to smile upon us and send us fruitful seasons, there may still be enough of vegetable productions to support the life of the inhabitants; but trade and money must almost cease. All improvements will be checked, and barbarism will soon usurp the place of civilization, which has happily begun to exert its benign influence. Even religion itself with all its heavenly blessings will ere long depart from these verdant isles. These are gloomy anticipations, but there are too strong grounds for them. May He, by whom kings reign, so direct the counsels of the nation, that the evils which threaten us may be averted, and temporal as well as spiritual prosperity be restored to us.

Many of the immigrants are in a wretched state with sores and fevers. The Coolie scheme appears to be acknowledged as a failure by all parties. The Portuguese have lately been tried, and they are willing to labour, but sickness is making sad havoc among them. Eighty of them settled upon an estate in this neighbourhood a few months ago, and nine of them are already in their graves. I visited them in their affliction, but could not speak a word of consolation to them. Some of them, however, promised to send their children to our school.

Our schools are prospering, on the lists of each there are upwards of 200, but some of the elder ones only attend alternate weeks. The number I find present at once varies from 120 to 150. I will open another school five miles distant from Hampden as soon as I can command the means. With all good wishes, Yours, &c.

GEORGE BLYTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

Waldensia, Oct. 15th, 1847.

DEAR SIR,—I have no doubt that others, as well as myself, will call your attention to the resolutions that have been passed at the different public meetings lately held in this island. You will perceive that the cry of ruin has again been raised, and I believe, at this time, with some show of reason. The reduction in the price of sugar has greatly alarmed us; I trust, however, that for the sake of all parties, the market will soon go

up. My principal object in writing you now, is to implore you and other friends of the emancipated, to exert all the influence you possess to prevent the introduction of Africans or any other labourers into this island. Immigration has been, and if certain parties have their way will still be, our bane. How do I wish, Sir, that you and others could see what I am constantly compelled to witness—viz., scores of wretched Coolies wandering without a home about our streets, covered from head to foot with filth and sores. I assure you, their appearance would make your heart bleed, and induce you to raise your voice louder than ever against any further importation of immigrants either from Asia or Africa, or anywhere else. All parties are now satisfied that Coolies will not suit Jamaica, and few seem to care what becomes of them now they are discovered unfit for labour in the cane piece. Those, who a few months back held them up as examples to our peasantry, and denominated them the saviours of our country, are now the loudest in their complaints, and declare that they are worse than the negroes. There are, at the present time, nearly forty of these wretched creatures in different jails in the island, committed for the most part, for breaking their contracts. One would have thought, that by this time, the planters would have left off clamouring for fresh labourers; but no; having almost ruined the island by their mad schemes, and driven hundreds of the peasantry far back into the mountains, the British Government is now appealed to to furnish funds for the introduction of a large number of African labourers. I find some of the speakers have brought forward a somewhat, to them, novel argument, that it will be the means of civilizing and christianizing the African. This argument will, of course, be taken for what it is worth. I trust, Sir, that you will let the British public know, that to introduce African labourers here, will be to commit an act of great injustice on the peasantry, who are willing to cultivate the cane for equitable wages. I perceive that the parish of Trelawney has united, with her sister parishes, in asking for an increase of labourers. Why, Sir, the planters of Trelawney know that they cannot find money to employ the present population. I have just been conversing with a practical planter of that parish who ridiculed the statements put forth at the Falmouth meeting; what he said, is true, that an increase of labourers would only tend to pauperize the present population. A poor man has just been to me to say that he cannot get paid for labour that was completed long ago. I give it as my decided conviction—a conviction founded on observation and from conversations with the planters themselves, that if 5000 Africans were sent to Trelawney tomorrow, not one additional acre of cane would be planted—the new comers would merely occupy the places of the old labourers, who would at once be sent adrift. You must, Sir, call upon the country to resist this scheme, or we shall be deluged with starving, superstitious strangers. The public meetings that have been held, merely show the opinions of a particular class, and as such, they should be regarded by the British public. What Jamaica wants is money and enterprise. But, how are they to be obtained? Certainly not by the introduction of African immigrants, at the expense of the British people. But some of the requests made by the planters should be attended to; if there is to be free-trade in sugar, there should be free-trade in other things, or the colonies, of no mean value, may really suffer. There should, I think, be an alteration in the navigation laws, and an increased consumption in sugar should be encouraged in all possible ways. Jamaica planters have no right to ask for favours; they have had too many for their own benefit already; they want rousing—but they should not be treated with injustice, however urgent they may wish to treat others. Beautiful rains continue to fall; the October seasons have fairly set in. The House of Assembly will meet on the 19th instant, but I fear they will, as usual, legislate for a particular class. The legislations of our colonies should be strictly watched or we may yet be undone.

Yours truly,

J. E. HENDERSON.

#### UNITED STATES—GENERAL LIBERTY CONVENTION AT BUFFALO.

(From the National Era).

BUFFALO, October 20th, 1847.

The preliminary meeting was held at the Court House last evening. The attendance was large. Judge Hutchinson, of Vermont, presided. Interesting intelligence was communicated from different parts of the country, and the meeting was quite an animated one. The delegates met in convention this morning at ten o'clock. The Court House was filled. Lewis Tappan was chosen chairman *pro tem*. Committees on the nomination of officers, a Business Committee, a Committee on Enrolment, &c., were chosen. Nearly the whole forenoon was devoted to preliminary business. At noon the Convention adjourned. The utmost animation prevails, and encouraging intelligence was communicated from all parts of the country.

BUFFALO, October 21st, 1847.

Yesterday P.M. the Convention met in the Great Tent. Large attendance. Questions of order were settled. The Business Committee reported several resolutions, some of which were discussed and adopted.



Mr. G. Smith, of the Business Committee, presented a minority report, in the form of several resolutions. One of these was discussed. In the evening the Convention met in the Bethel Church. Here the discussion on G. Smith's resolution was resumed. It was, that Congress has power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the States. This resolution was, after a long discussion, rejected, and the original resolution was agreed to, declaring that Congress has a right, and ought to exercise it, to abolish slavery in the Territories, the district of Columbia, &c. The rest of the evening the Convention listened to L. Tappan, who read letters and extracts of speeches by Hon. John P. Hale; to Dr. Lemoyne, who argued strongly in favour of nominating some old and well-tryed Abolitionist, instead of taking up the name of any new convert, or supposed convert; to Mr. Chase, of Ohio; to G. Smith, who said he had not joined the Macedon League; that he would not accept any nomination for any office; yet, in answer to a question put to him, he said that he would accept the office of President of the United States, should he be elected to it. Other gentlemen spoke.

This morning the Convention assembled at the Tent. It was voted to lay the question of nominating candidates upon the table, and take up the minority report for discussion. Mr. G. Smith addressed the Convention in an impressive speech of upwards of an hour, complaining of Liberty men who had voted for the Whig and Democratic tickets, and expounding the views he entertained of the duty of Liberty men to inquire into, and adopt all the important principles that would devolve upon the Administration of the Government, should the Liberty party come into power.

He said that he was not for adopting any new tests. All he wished was, that the members of the Liberty party would examine the principles avowed by himself and friends, and adopt them as fast as they found them just and true. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, in a capital speech, replied to Mr. Smith, vindicating the great body of Liberty men; declaring that the general views presented by Mr. Smith were not new, but such as had been acted upon by the Liberty party from the beginning; and saying that the great idea was one of progress. It had converted Gerrit Smith, and we had great encouragement that it would convert others. Mr. Stanton has the floor, and the debate will be continued this afternoon. Whether the nomination will be gone into to-day is uncertain. The first question will be on the postponement of the nomination until next spring or summer. The Ohio delegation, the New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania delegations, with part of New York, &c., are Mr. G. Smith's friends, and will vote, probably, for postponement. If the question of postponement does not prevail, Mr. Hale will probably be nominated, but not by an unanimous vote.

SYRACUSE, N.Y., October 22nd, 1847.

About five hundred Liberty men, from different parts of the country, attended the sessions of the Convention, with a large concourse of other citizens. Mr. Bradburn presented the merits of Mr. G. Smith as a candidate for the Presidency. Messrs. Leavitt, Stanton, and Tappan, gave a narration of Mr. Hale's course, stated his present views, and the importance of uniting in the nomination of this gentleman. At the evening session, an informal vote was taken by yeas and nays. The whole number of votes was 159, of which Mr. Hale had 103, Gerrit Smith 44, and the rest scattering. It was then moved that the Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, be the choice of the Convention for the office of President of the United States, and it was carried unanimously, amidst much cheering. The Convention then proceeded to the choice of a candidate for the Vice Presidency, when the following result was declared: 82 votes for Judge King, of Ohio; 67 for Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois; and 11 scattering. Whereupon, it was moved that the Hon. Leicester King, of Ohio, be the choice of the Convention for the office of Vice President of the United States. Carried unanimously.

The session was concluded by prayer, and an eloquent address from the President.

The following letter from our friend Lewis Tappan gives a succinct view of the proceedings:—

"Albany, Oct. 23, 1847.—Evening.

"DEAR SIR,—Our Convention has been a most delightful one. Many of the strongest men in the Liberty party were there, and speeches of great power were delivered. Gerrit Smith spoke an hour in condemnation of Liberty men coalescing with the other political parties, and in favour of defining their position on all subjects connected with the administration of Government. His speech was one of his best efforts, and was listened to with the most respectful attention. Still, many thought he was unjustly severe—that in some things he laboured under a misapprehension; and a large portion of the delegates believed that his propositions ought not to be entertained by the Liberty party, especially at the present time. Mr. Smith declared that he had not joined the Macedon League, that he would not accept their nomination, and that he did not desire the Liberty party to adopt any new tests. The Convention thought, that as the One Idea had been the means of bringing Mr. Smith into the anti-slavery ranks, there is great encouragement to believe that it will, without hasty additions, be instrumental in converting others to the righteous cause in which we are engaged.

"Mr. Stanton, in a splendid speech, recounted the anti-slavery acts of Mr. Hale, and his singular independence and honesty in the discharge of duty. Mr. Leavitt, with unusual ability, demonstrated the importance of making the nomination at the present time, and the peculiar fitness of Mr. Hale to be the leader of the Liberty party movement. Mr. Owen Lovejoy, in a felicitous manner, replied to Mr. Smith, though some thought his admissions were too great. Mr. Chase, of Ohio, spoke with clearness and force, but failed to convince the Convention that it was wise or expedient to defer the nominations to another year; and when the sense of the Convention was ascertained, by an informal vote, he magnanimously moved that Mr. Hale be the nominee, by a unanimous vote. Mr. Bradburn, of Massachusetts, was eloquent in favour of the adoption of Mr. Smith's peculiar views. Dr. Elder, of Pennsylvania, with equal eloquence, expressed opposite opinions. Dr. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, was in favour of nominating some veteran abolitionist, and thought it of more importance to adhere strictly to the original anti-slavery principles, than to swell the Liberty party vote. He thought the friends of the cause in New Hampshire had coalesced with the Whigs, &c.; but General Holt, of New Hampshire, vindicated the Liberty men, and made explanations that seemed to satisfy a large majority of the Convention. The venerable Judge Hutchinson, of Vermont, spoke with energy and intellectual vigour on several occasions. Messrs. Lovejoy, of Massachusetts; Booth, of Connecticut; Bradley, Chase, Addington, Stow, &c., of New York; Mahan, of Ohio; and several others, from various States, took part in the discussions during the sessions of the Convention.

Several persons voted for Mr. Smith, who were not in favour of his peculiar theories, either because they love and reverence the man, or were not sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Hale's soundness as a Liberty party man. Had it been known in the Convention, as the writer has since learned from General Riley, that Mr. Hale is a decided advocate of the Temperance reformation, several more would have given their votes for him. Considering that Mr. Smith was present, advocating his own views with his accustomed eloquence; that he was surrounded by neighbours and citizens of his own State, who delight to do him honour; that Mr. Hale was personally known to very few of the delegates, was not present to delight them with his remarkable talents as a speaker, and that his views on some subjects were not distinctly known—it may be considered that he received a strong vote, and marks of the most decided confidence of the Liberty men in the United States, by their representatives in the Convention. Many who went to Buffalo to vote for a postponement of the nomination, became satisfied, by the facts and arguments presented, of the inexpediency of deferring it, and were at last among the most zealous advocates of immediate action in the premises.

The final proceedings of the Convention were highly animated and cheering. The utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed, with a proud consciousness of having, in the fear of God, discharged a momentous duty. May the God of the oppressed, who seemed to preside over the deliberations of the Convention, inspire the members of the Liberty party with union, zeal, and a determination in carrying forward their purposes, and in bringing them to a successful issue. May he also abundantly bless the distinguished gentlemen who have been selected as their candidates for the two highest offices of Government, and preserve them from betraying, in the slightest degree, the cause of which they are the constituted leaders. Let every member of the Liberty party do his duty, in the confident hope and belief that Mr. Hale will go into the House of Representatives as one of the three candidates from whom a selection must be made for the Chief Magistracy. And it is to be hoped that Independent Democrats, and Conscience Whigs, in all the free States, will cast their votes for men thus presented to the country as firm Wilmot Proviso men, and who are also for all constitutional and just measures to bring about a divorce between the Government of the United States and slavery.

A National Committee was chosen, (two from each of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and one each from the other free States,) with authority to call a future Convention in a way to be approved by the State Anti-Slavery Societies.

The meeting has been a delightful one. It was good to be there. New friendships have been made or strengthened; a new spirit has been infused into the anti-slavery ranks; and the Liberty party now stands before the country stronger than ever, with brighter prospects, with its flag run up, nailed to the mast, bearing the encouraging motto—NO EXTENSION AND NO CONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

"L. T."

### Colonial Intelligence.

As illustrative of the general feeling prevailing in the Colonies on the subject of their present condition, we subjoin the resolutions passed at the various meetings which have been held in the different colonies; which will show the remedies which they propose for the amelioration of their position.



## WEST INDIES.

## JAMAICA—TRELAWNY.

At a public meeting of the proprietors, freeholders, merchants, planters, &c., held at Falmouth, on Wednesday, the 5th day of October, 1847, convened to take into consideration the proper measures to be adopted, to endeavour to avert the disastrous consequences likely to arise from the depressed prices of colonial produce,

SAMUEL MAGNUS, Esq. being called to the chair,

It was resolved:—

"That in the unprecedentedly oppressed state of the agricultural interests of this island, it becomes the duty of all who may be concerned in them to consider the causes influencing such depression.

"That this distress is referable to the great depreciation in the price of colonial produce, the scarcity of labour, and the vast quantity of slave-labour sugar now admitted for consumption into Great Britain. That the declaration of Her Majesty made to Parliament on the 23rd July last, viz.:—'That the revenue derived from sugar especially, has been greatly augmented by the removal of the prohibitory duties on foreign sugar,' is to the fullest extent borne out by the fact, that in the first six months of 1846, the total quantity of sugar cleared for consumption was 2,426,193 cwt., and that in the first six months of 1847, it amounted to 2,946,399 cwt.; but it is to be remarked that in this vast increase of sugar cleared for British consumption, that of British colonial sugar there was actually less, the quantity, being for the first six months of 1846, 2,408,466 cwt., and in the corresponding period of 1847, 2,322,354 cwt., being 86,112 cwt. less than in the preceding year; whilst the quantity of foreign and slave sugar in the same periods, was in 1846, 17,747 cwt., and in 1847, 643,045 cwt., that is an increase of 625,298 cwt.

"That this statement proves clearly that impediments exist to the consumption of colonial sugar, and that the due stimulus to industry, that is, consumption, has been liberally extended to the producer of slave-labour sugar, whilst it has been withheld from the producer of British colonial sugar.

"That considering the difficulties in the way of putting an end to the slave-trade on the one hand, and the encouragement thus given to the production of slave-labour sugar on the other, it is evident that the prospect of the British colonial planter is a hopeless one; unless such fiscal regulations, by a diminution of duties or otherwise, are immediately enacted by Parliament, the effect of which will be to place him in respect of a relief from burthens on his produce, and in respect to a command of labour, on the same footing as the British agriculturist. No minor advantages should be granted, or can prove satisfactory, to British subjects and to British capital.

"That it is consistent with the knowledge of this meeting, that in Porto Rico, Cuba, and in other slave countries, lands lately in the cultivation of coffee and cotton, have been turned to that of sugar.

"That with a most inadequate supply of labour, and with the restrictions on freights, competition with the producer of foreign and slave sugar cannot be expected from us, and is in fact impossible.

"That therefore under the inflictions of a comparatively high duty, in addition to the above disadvantages, we are entitled to seek for that redress which is to be obtained only by a reduction of the duties on colonial sugar, a full supply of labour by the introduction of African immigration, and the privilege of being able to export and import, unrestricted by those laws which have now the effect of preventing competition for the conveyance of our produce and of our supplies.

"That such a diminution of duty will alone be satisfactory and useful, as will leave the planter out of the sale price wherewithal to remunerate him for the cost of production; and through that source it is, as well as by a full supply of labour, that we must more particularly hope for relief, as will be seen by the proportion that each respectively bears to the prices obtained for sugar, viz.:—

Duty, per cwt. ....	£0 14 0
Labour, estimated at £10 per hogshead, under favourable circumstances alone, per cwt. ....	0 13 4
Other contingencies, estimated at £5 per hogshead, per cwt. ....	0 6 8
Charges for freight, insurance, &c. per cwt. ....	0 7 9
	£2 1 9

Average by last arrival for middling sugar, British Plantation, per cwt. .... £1 19 6

Leaving 2s. 3d. against the planter per cwt. on the sugar, instead of giving a return on the large capital already invested."

"That a petition, embodying the foregoing resolutions, be prepared, and that in the prayer of our petition be included an equalization of the duties on rum, as well as the admission of molasses into breweries and distilleries."

## ST. JAMES'S.

The following, among other resolutions, were adopted at a meeting held at Montego Bay on the 11th and 12th of October ult. Hon. G. M. LAWSON, in the chair. It was resolved:—

"That the admission of slave-grown sugar into competition with that produced by free labour, has so reduced the price, as to render its cultivation in this colony ruinous to all concerned in it.

"That one year's experience has been sufficient to render manifest, that this island cannot compete with the slave colonies—that free labour, particularly in an island so under-populated as Jamaica, must be dearer than labour coerced from slaves.

"That as Great Britain has nobly set the example of exhibiting to the world, that the productions of the tropics can be cultivated by free labour, so let us pray that she do not stultify her benevolent and costly exertions to annihilate slavery in her own colonies, by longer continuing to encourage the abominable system in foreign countries; but, on the contrary, that she would by vigorous and constant watchfulness on the coasts of those countries where the slave-trade is known to exist, endeavour completely to suppress it, and, at the same time, extend to us every facility and aid, in obtaining free labourers from Africa, and so enable British colonies to supply the British markets with sugar made only by hallowed means."

The prayer of the petition is identical with the one given above.

## ST. GEORGE'S.

A meeting of proprietors, planters, and others, was held on the 18th of September last, at which the following resolutions were carried:—

"That under the most favourable seasons and circumstances, it costs not less than £20 per ton to grow sugar in this parish, on a large scale, on a good estate—all expenses included, save the interest of capital employed, on account of the high rate of wages and deficiency of labour, but when we are visited with droughts such as those of last and the present years, there is no estimating what the cost of producing a ton of sugar will amount to.

"That famine prices have extended to nearly every producer of human food, with the exception of the British planter, whose sugars have fallen from £28 to £15 per ton, within the last six months, owing to the vast importation and consumption of superior slave-grown sugar to his own.

"That the continuation and great increase of the foreign slave-trade (especially now that the importation of slave-grown sugar and coffee is not only permitted, but promoted, in British ships for consumption in the British market) is becoming an intolerable grievance.

"That a memorial on the subject, addressed to the Foreign Office, be prepared, and that the one now read be adopted; and that the Custos be requested to forward it to his Excellency the Governor for transmission.

"That a committee be appointed to draw up a petition to the new House of Commons, claiming a further reduction in the duties on West India sugar and rum, to the extent of the charges incurred for freight and sale of those articles, and that one-half of the £1,200,000 now expended in the vain attempt to put down slave-trading be applied to the importation of free labourers into the West India colonies, but more especially into those which have suffered most from the effects of emancipation; and that a loan be applied for, to enable us to improve permanently, either on estates or in central factories, to be established for the sole benefit of estates, the quality of our produce, to render it at least equal in value to the foreign sugars which are at present driving us out of the market—provided such loan can be obtained on the terms of the new British Drainage Act, viz. 6½ per cent. per annum, payable for twenty-two years, to extinguish principal and interest.

## ST. MARY'S.

At a meeting held in the parish of St. Mary's, on the 18th of September last, Charles Stewart, Esq. in the chair, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"That the present price of sugar, the staple produce of this parish, has, by the operation of the British free-trade principles, been so reduced in value as to render the production of it no longer remunerative.

"That the strongest representations be made to parliament, to induce them to aid us, in exclusive African immigration, that labour at last may be placed at the command of the agriculturist, which will be both continuous and remunerative, and beneficial not only to the planter, but also to the labourer, by raising him in the scale of society.

"That it is absolutely necessary that most strenuous efforts should be used to induce the British Government to grant us sufficient protection by taking off the whole of the duties now levied on our productions, and thus place us on an equal footing with our fellow-subjects in Great Britain; at the same time we demand that the distinctive duties between foreign free and foreign slave produce, be such as to hold out inducement to slave colonies to follow the noble example of Great Britain."

## BRITISH GUIANA.

At a public meeting held on the 15th of October last, a petition to the House of Commons was adopted, from which we make the following extracts:—



"That the effects produced by the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, and by the Act 9 and 10 Victoria, cap. 63, entitled 'An Act for granting certain Duties on Sugar and Molasses,' whereby slave-grown sugar was admitted into Great Britain, in competition with the produce of the British colonies, have inflicted on your petitioners grievous injuries and heavy losses, and involved them in deep distress.

"That in addition, they have suffered from the want of steady and continuous labour, and from the high wages, which has resulted from competition for the services of the labourer. That one obvious and most desirable mode of endeavouring to compensate for this diminished supply is to promote the immigration of a fresh labouring population, to such an extent as to create competition for employment.

"That your petitioners have learned, from ample experience, that immigration from Africa is best adapted to the wants of this colony; immigrants from that quarter being both from physical conformation, and natural adaptation of constitution, best fitted for working under a tropical sun, and affording in the field that continuous labour which is so essential to the proper cultivation of the sugar-cane.

"That from circumstances arising out of the social condition of the Africans in their own country, it is impossible to procure them in sufficient numbers, without negotiating with and conciliating their chiefs, in order to induce them to permit their vassals and dependants to emigrate to the British settlements, instead of forcing them, by sale to illicit traders, to go to slave countries, where their condition of slavery is perpetuated. At present, British planters get none but a few captured slaves, with occasionally some Kroomen; and surely it is more humane to take them direct from the coast, than to submit them to the horrible cruelties practised on board slave-ships, and then (and then only) to admit them to the blessings and privileges of free British labourers. Your petitioners would, therefore, most earnestly impress on your Honourable House, the necessity of a free current of immigration from Africa, without which your petitioners do not hesitate to say, that this once splendid province will soon cease to export the usual staple productions.

"That your petitioners cannot help expressing their indignation and dismay at the disastrous consequences which are likely to follow to them by the operation of the Act 9 and 10 Victoria, cap. 63, before referred to. By this Act your petitioners are exposed to a fresh train of sacrifices, and the effect of it will also be to confirm and perpetuate in Cuba, Brazil, and Porto Rico, the inhuman traffic in slaves. Under an inadequate supply of free labour it is impossible to maintain that tropical products can be produced as cheap by free labour as they can be in those countries by slave labour. One year's competition with those countries has clearly and fully established, even under some degree of protection, the hopeless nature of the struggle. In addition to the supply of slaves which are now received by those countries from Africa, the planters in Cuba, under the sanction, and with the assistance of the Spanish Government, are introducing labourers from the East under contracts extending to periods of from seven to ten years, at a rate of hire scarcely more than a fraction of that which is paid to immigrants in British Guiana, and which, combined with the annual supply of slaves, enables those countries to produce sugar at one-half the cost of what it is produced in British Guiana.

"That your petitioners would earnestly recal to the recollection of your Honourable House that the honour of the British nation is deeply involved in the success of emancipation. That great measure was maintained on the high moral grounds of humanity and religion. The moral feeling of the British nation having abolished slavery in the British West Indies, it was held forth as a great step towards the abolition of slavery throughout the world; but these high principles have been descended from, and they have been resigned for commercial advantages, and cheap sugar.

"That in conclusion, your petitioners further beg to bring under the notice of your Honourable House, that they consider themselves fairly entitled to claim that the following remedial measures should be conceded to them:—

1. A loan to be applied to the carrying out of African immigration, under such regulations for securing the fair and equitable administration of the same as your Honourable House may deem proper.
2. A loan to be applied under proper regulations to the purpose of thorough drainage.
3. The admission into the United Kingdom of Muscovado sugar, as a raw material, duty free.
4. The free admission of molasses into the breweries and distilleries of the United Kingdom.
5. The equalization of the duty on rum and British spirits.
6. The admission of inspissated cane juice into the United Kingdom on equitable terms.
7. The placing the refining of sugars in the colonies on the same footing as in the British refineries.

"May it therefore please your Honourable House to take into consideration the foregoing statements, and to grant to your petitioners all, or such of the before-mentioned remedial measures, as your Honourable House may see fit.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

## BERBICE.

The following petition was adopted at a meeting held on the 2nd of October last. It prays:—

First. For a reduction of the duty on sugar, the produce of the British colonies, to one half-penny per pound, and for a corresponding reduction upon molasses, leaving foreign sugar and molasses as a present.

Second. That the duty on rum may be adjusted with reference to that on British spirits.

Third. That molasses as well as sugar may be admitted for use in the breweries and distilleries.

Fourth. That inspissated cane juice may be admitted to be refined at home in bond, at a rate of duty proportionate to that on sugar.

Fifth. That the Navigation Laws be abolished in as far as this colony is concerned.

Sixth. That a free immigration from all quarters of the world be permitted without any restriction beyond what may be necessary to guard against abuse.

And Lastly. For a grant or loan for the purpose of immigration and thorough-drainage, and such other improvements generally, as will enable the proprietors to cultivate their estates to advantage, so that they may ultimately drive from the markets of the world all slave-grown sugar.

## TRINIDAD.

The following is the prayer of a petition to the House of Commons, adopted at a public meeting held in September last.

"1st.—That all treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade now existing between Her Majesty's Government and other countries, be more stringently enforced, and that some new and vigorous measures be adopted for the detection and liberation of such slaves as have heretofore been feloniously introduced into foreign countries.

"2nd.—That as an indispensable means of reducing the cost of production, your petitioners should be allowed unrestricted access to the coast of Africa, and to all other places whence they may obtain fresh additions to their free labouring population.

"3rd.—That your petitioners claim, as British subjects, to have the British West Indian colonies, considered and treated as integral parts of the British empire, and therefore entitled to have their produce introduced into the markets of the mother country on the same terms as the agricultural produce of her own provinces, and that any revenue to be raised from sugar should be levied exclusively upon that produced by slave-labour.

"4th.—That molasses as well as sugar be permitted to be used in the breweries and distilleries of the United Kingdom.

"5th.—That the discriminating duty between rum and British spirits should be forthwith repealed.

## GRENADA.

"At a general meeting of the inhabitants, convened on the 18th of September last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present disastrous state of the colony, and of devising some means for alleviating the same, Alexander Richard, Esq., in the chair, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

"That in consequence of the late changes in the sugar duties and regulations affecting our great staples, whereby all protection to us is being withdrawn, and foreign and slave-grown sugar is being admitted to the home markets at present at a low discriminating duty, and which after a short period is entirely to cease, prices have already fallen from 12s. to 13s. per cwt., leaving to the planter such a trifling sum that it will be impossible for him to carry on the cultivation of sugar in this colony without a ruinous loss; more especially when, in addition, the present scarcity of labour, and the consequent high rate of wages, are taken into consideration.

"That many of the inhabitants of this colony are emancipated labourers, cultivating sugar for their own behoof, which they must now discontinue on account of the low prices caused by the facilities afforded to slave-grown sugars into the British markets, and who feel deep sorrow and disappointment on learning that these facilities tend to perpetuate the slavery of their unhappy brethren of Africa, and their descendants in the slave colonies.

"That in order to be placed on an equal footing with their fellow-subjects in the mother country, this meeting claim an immediate removal of all duties on British West India sugar and molasses; the unrestricted admission of sugar and molasses into breweries and distilleries; the equalization of duty on British and colonial spirits; and the option of shipping their produce in foreign vessels; they also urge the right of this colony participating equally in proportion with the larger colonies in a share of captured and of her Africans by Government vessels, from which



they are at present excluded, and that a more lengthened term of indentures be permitted on immigrants from Africa, or any other part of the world."

## DOMINICA.

The following petition was adopted at a public meeting held on the 16th of October last:—

"That the prosperity of the inhabitants of this colony depends upon the productive cultivation of sugar.

"That the admission of all foreign sugar to consumption in the United Kingdom, has reduced the price of sugar fully one-third, and has almost annihilated the protection hitherto extended to your petitioners.

"That your petitioners confine themselves to the injustice they sustain from the admission of slave-grown sugar unless some protecting duty is afforded to the British plantation sugar, to meet the difference of the natural expense of production in the British colonies, and the unnaturally low cost incurred by the slave-holder.

"That your petitioners would, however, gladly urge that not one pound of sugar, the produce of slave-labour, should be admitted to the shores of Great Britain.

"That from the want of confidence felt by the British capitalist consequent upon the present ruinous state of West India affairs, and the gloomy prospect which the future affords, the planter is almost entirely deprived of the means of carrying on the cultivation of his estate, whilst it is utterly impossible to attempt those further improvements in the manufacture of sugar which their altered system requires.

"That this state of things cannot continue; that the British West India possessions must either be adequately protected from slave-grown sugar or abandoned."—*Dominican, October 27.*

The last West India mail has brought us accounts of several other meetings which have been held in various directions, at which resolutions of a similar character have been passed.

## Miscellanea.

**SANGUINARY AFFRAY ON BOARD A SLAVER.**—By the kindness of an occasional correspondent we have been favoured with the following extract from a private letter, dated Sierra Leone, Oct. 6, 1847:—

"On the 22nd of July last Her Majesty's ship, *Waterwitch*, with Her Majesty's ship, *Rapid*, in company, captured the Brazilian brigantine, *Romeo Primero*, which was subsequently given in charge to Lieutenant W. G. Mansfield, R.N., and four seamen, to be conveyed to St. Helena for adjudication. Owing to adverse winds, and the unmanageable qualities of the prize, the officer in command found it necessary to alter his destination, and bear up for this place. On the 11th of August, about mid-day, two of the crew being engaged aloft, and the others in the bunks, where the arms were stowed, the lieutenant, being at the moment pulling a rope which had been recently spliced, was murderously assailed from behind by one of the prisoners (who were four in number, and during the day time allowed the liberty of the vessel) with an axe used for chopping firewood. At the same moment, the other prisoners furiously attacked the sailors in the bunks, who, from the unexpected nature of the assault, were driven from their post wounded and unarmed. Lieutenant Mansfield, laying hold of a piece of firewood, gallantly, but unequally, contended with a Brazilian armed with a cutlass; in the course of a desperate struggle the officer received no fewer than nine wounds, more or less severe, in the head, arms, and abdomen; a greatcoat, which he wore being, under Providence, the means of saving him from instant death. The two sailors who had been occupied in the shrouds having reached the deck, of course unarmed, the lieutenant, nearly exhausted by profuse hemorrhage, made a violent effort to join them, in which he fortunately proved successful, though in his progress one of the prisoners discharged at him a marine's musket, the contents of which took effect, inflicting a most dangerous wound on his head, and bringing him for an instant to the ground. Having succeeded in recovering his feet, and gaining his men, he encouraged them to rush aft upon their armed antagonists, a piece of service which three of their number performed in the most daring manner; the fourth seamen (since dead) being *hors de combat* by his wounds, and the lieutenant himself fainting at the instant from loss of blood. The intrepidity of the three British tars rendered them more than a match for their armed antagonists, whom they speedily overpowered, one of the prisoners leaping overboard, and perishing in the waves. Believing their officer to be killed, the seamen, in the excitement of the moment, were about to hurl the surviving prisoners over the gangway, when Lieutenant Mansfield, partially reviving, ordered them to be imprisoned, that their wounds

should be washed, and that they should be reserved to be dealt with by the authorities here. On the 1st of September, the *Romeo Primero*, the scene of this bloody encounter, entered our port. Lieutenant Mansfield, who since the day of conflict had scarcely been able to stir hand or foot, was promptly conveyed to sick quarters, and for many days his life was entirely despaired of by his medical attendants. The gallant little crew, all wounded, were also looked after in the best manner which skill and sympathy could suggest; but, alas! two of them were soon removed beyond the reach of human succour, one dying of the direct consequences of his wounds, and the second of fever induced by them. After a fortnight of extreme danger on shore, Lieutenant Mansfield's powerful constitution showed symptoms of triumphing over his injuries, and he is now so far convalescent as to justify sanguine hopes of his complete restoration. Yesterday the Brazilian prisoners were brought to trial before the Chief Justice, his Honour Chief Justice Pine, and assistant judges, Heddle and Lennon, on charges of piracy, and attempt to murder Lieutenant W. G. Mansfield, R.N., and others. On the indictment being read, several preliminary objections were taken on the part of the prisoners by the Spanish Consul, as the only representative of a foreign country in the colony. The Court, after some consultation, declared the following objection fatal to the proceedings:—"That the alleged crime had been committed in an attempt to recapture their own vessel, then under the Brazilian flag, and not amenable to British jurisdiction, the sentence of a Court of Admiralty not having been then pronounced." His Honour, in announcing the decision of the Court, said, that the case being thus shut out from an investigation on its merits, he felt called upon to state that, having read attentively all the depositions connected with it, he considered the conduct of the prize officer to have been marked throughout the trying circumstances by most praiseworthy courage and forbearance. The prisoners were then discharged. The brigantine has been condemned by the Admiralty Court as a slaver."—*Times, Dec. 3.*

## DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
<i>London.</i> —Allen, Stafford.....	1	1 0
Alsop, Robert.....	0	10 6
Bell, John.....	2	2 0
Ball, William.....	2	2 0
Burchett, J. R.....	1	1 0
Cash, Samuel.....	1	1 6
Cash, William.....	0	10 6
Clark, Jeremiah.....	1	1 0
Cooper, Joseph.....	2	2 0
Eaton, Mrs.....	3	3 0
Forster, Robert.....	1	1 0
Grimshaw, William.....	0	10 6
Hatchard, John.....	1	1 0
Jeffery, R.....	2	2 0
Lister, J. J.....	2	2 0
Morland, John.....	2	2 0
Neatby, Joseph.....	2	2 0
Norton, T.....	1	1 0
Palmer, E.....	1	1 0
Robinson, J. P.....	1	1 0
Sterry, Joseph.....	1	1 0
Sterry, Joseph, Jun.....	2	2 0
Sterry, Henry.....	3	3 0
Sterry, Richard.....	1	1 0
Stacey, George.....	2	2 0
Stacey, Miss R.....	1	0 6
Savory, Joseph.....	1	1 0
<i>Southampton.</i> —Clark, J.....	1	0 0
Clark, J., Jun.....	0	10 6
Lindoe, Dr.....	0	10 6
Allen, J. M.....	0	10 6
Fletcher, Isaac.....	0	5 0
Randall, E. M.....	0	10 6
Forbes, M.....	0	5 0
Bienwen, M.....	0	5 0
Crabb, Rev. James.....	0	5 0
Laishley, George.....	0	10 0
Knight, J.....	0	5 0
Marett, Charles.....	0	5 0
Newman, W. H.....	0	5 0
Adkins, Rev. Thomas.....	0	5 0
Palk, Edward.....	0	10 6
Friend, A.....	0	5 0
<i>Norwich.</i> —Foster, William.....	2	2 0
<i>York.</i> —Ladies' Negro Friend Society.....	5	0 0
<i>Dublin.</i> —Bewley, Joseph.....	5	0 0

**ERRATA.**—In our last Subscription List, we inserted by mistake the name of G. W. Alexander, as a Subscriber of £5. 5s., it should have been inserted thus:—William Cash, Peckham, per G. W. Alexander, Donation, £5. 5s.















































